GUARDIAN'S SPRING BOOK ISSUE: 16 PAGES OF REVIEW AND COMMENT

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PICTURE OF A MAN COMPETING WITH THE BOLSHOI BALLET

He's Arnold Shoda, starring in the first American ice show to play in the U.S.S.R., showing his wares in Moscow as fellow skaters watch. For a description of how the Bolshoi Ballet hit New York, see the Spectator, p. 22.

HAZARDS OF TESTS INCREASE

Scientists stunned at new U. S. report upping fall-out limit

By Robert E. Light

A PECULIAR PROPERTY of nuclear explosions is that casualties occur years and generations after the blast. On April 4 Takako Takahashi, a 19-year-old girl, died in Hiroshima of malignant anemia diagnosed as an "after effect" of the atomic bombing more than 13 years ago. It was the 15th death this year attributed to the Hiroshima raid.

Since the war hundreds of A-and H-bomb tests have sprayed the upper atmosphere and the earth's surface with deadly debris which will seek its victims among the living as well as the unborn. Nobel Prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling estimates that with each 20-megaton bomb that explodes, 15,000 people then living will die and 15,000 seriously defective children will be born. For the world the question is whether we have already sown the seeds of our destruction, or how fast are we approaching that point?

From the scientists has come the answer: We do not know. Ever since radioactive ash fell on a Japanese fishing boat in 1954, they have been concerned with the effects of radioactive fall-out. What is known to date is vague and spotty.

STRONTIUM 90: What is certain is that every person, everywhere in the world, every day consumes through food, drink and air some debris from fall-out. Among the debris are radioactive isotopes which can cause malignant diseases and, if concentrated near the groin, eradiate the gonads and damage the genes.

One radioactive isotope of particular concern is strontium 90. It has an average life of 40 years and resembles calcium in its chemical properties. In the body it behaves like calcium and is absorbed by bone tissue. If accumulated in certain amounts, it can cause bone cancer and leukemia (cancer of the blood).

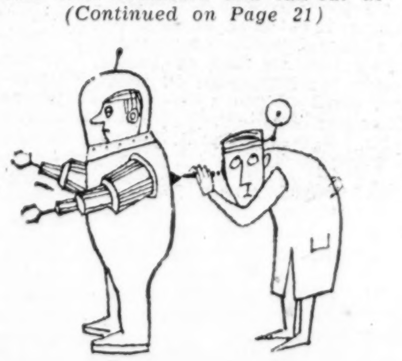
Other dangerous isotopes are: cesium 147 and carbon 14 which mutate genes; strontium 89, which attacks foetal bone tissue; and plutonium 239, which attacks the lungs. Of these very little is known and few studies have been made.

How much strontium 90 is harmful? Is there a safe limit below which it can be absorbed without risk? How much of the radioactivity in food and drink is absorbed by the body? These are some questions scientists have raised and not yet answered.

PERMISSIBLE DOSE? Under normal circumstances, with the known hazards, scientists would have ended explosions until they learned more of the ways of fall-out. But because of the Cold War, bomb tests continued and fall-out ac-

(Continued on Page 21)

Wilfred Burchett on the Rumanian H3 vitamin See page 3



Horizons, Paris

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Fact and fantasy on Tibet: Peking's version of revolt

IN the hullabaloo over Tibet, the U.S. press has had a field day in non-objective journalism, with exaggerations tripping over contradictions. There are no U.S. correspondents in China except the GUARDIAN's Anna Louise Strong. There are none at all in Tibet. But from Hong Kong, New Delhi and the Indian frontier, from Tokyo and places even more distant, American reporters have been deluging their papers with stories whose sole criterion seems to be discrediting China by sensationalism.

For example, from March 10 to 17, Tibetans were reported to be holding "demonstrations against Chinese authority" even as the Dalai Lama was said to be negotiating with Chinese representatives "to maintain friendly relations"; on March 17, Chinese troops were reported to have shelled the Dalai's palace, precipitating his flight to India. It was not explained why the Chinese troops would be foolish enough to shell the palace rather than disperse the crowd.

HOW MANY? The N.Y. Times' Elie Abel wrote from the Indian frontier (April 2) that "the Chinese Army of Occupation was 300,000 strong before the uprising [and since then] there has been ceaseless traffic of troop-carrying trucks into Tibet and a systematic airlift of men and equipment." Joseph Alsop said (**N.Y. Herald Tribune**, April 10) that Chinese troops "do not number more than 60,000 men."

The **Times** on April 5 said Tibet's population numbered 1,000,000; on April 9 the number went up to 1,500,000. The N.Y. **World-Telegram** (April 22) reported that Chinese troops had killed 8,000 monks, arrested 12,000 and forced 800,000 Lamas to flee to the mountains; this would mean that 50-80% of the Tibetan population were Lamas.

DALAI'S WORDS: On reaching the In-

(Continued on Page 21)

CIVIL DEFENSE TEST SUCCEEDS: MILLIONS DEAD

The 24 Americans who refuse to sanction killing

Special to the Guardian

FRIDAY, APRIL 17, was the Sixth Annual Civil Defense Day. According to CD authorities, it went smoothly. Millions of people were killed. New York City was spared when a two-megaton H-bomb fell on Glen Cove. No mention of fallout. Under the state's Emergency Defense Act, traffic was stopped and people ordered to take shelter for 15 minutes. During this time, 24 people were arrested who refused to take shelter: two in Forest Hills, two in Haverstraw and 20 in New York's City Hall Park.

Of the 20 arrested in City Hall Park, one was not brought to trial. She was Janice Smith, a housewife who arrived in a taxi and sat on a park bench with her two children. She refused to be party to teaching her children fear and death. Two others claimed they had been arrested accidentally and had no intention to disobey the law. The 17 others pleaded guilty.

NUREMBERG CITED: On April 24, a court in New York heard statements from David McReynolds, editor of the magazine **Liberation**; Joe Fraiser, a singer; Sheldon Weeks, a Quaker and youth secretary for the American Friends Service Committee; Gil Turner, an actor; and Ammon Hennacy of the **Catholic Worker.** McReynolds pointed out that in the Nurenberg trials individuals were declared to be responsible for their actions even when they followed the law of a state; and that the Germans who had opposed the Nazi regime were the true patriots.

Lawyer Joe Glass, who volunteered his services, asked the judge to recognize that the protesters had acted on the basis of their conscience, which no punishment could change. Hennacy admitted this was the fifth time he had been arrested in a civil defense case and he said he intended to continue devoting his life to acts for peace. Turner stressed the belief that he was acting against the whole

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Nathan vs. Mills

In the Jan. 26 GUARDIAN Dr. Otto Nathan in a review criticized sociologist C. Wright Mills for attempting, in his book The Causes of World War III, *to place responsibility for war preparations on "power elites" of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Dr. Nathan argued that history, not power elites, has created the antagonisms between capitalist and non-capitalist worlds.*

He found unrealizable and inadequate Mill's program for elimination of tensions as long as war as an institution continues to exist. Therefore, he said, since security cannot be assured by weapons, the goal must be the abolition of war; and the people themselves—of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as well—must be won to the goal of World Peace through World Law.

Following are responses from some GUARDIAN readers to the review:

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

I have written as follows to Prof. C. Wright Mills on Otto Nathan's review of his book, **The Causes of World War III.** (The GUARDIAN'S heart is all right, there is no question of that, but methinks there are a few holes in its head.):

"I am a retired business woman who spent 36 years in positions where the power elite was always plainly visible; in fact for many years it was my job to know everything about one of the big international cartels: the chemical cartel. Also I was in Europe at the end of both World Wars.

"Of course the power elite is the sole cause of wars. Hasn't it always been so? I know that the power elite of the entire "free" world is for all practical purposes one international corporation and the power elite of the U.S. controls that corporation...

"If there were a power elite in Russia it would be a part of the same international corporation, as it obviously is not. That is what makes the international corporation so mad at Russia. Losing the Rumanian oil fields, the giant Skoda works in Czechoslovakia, etc.

Margaret A. Fellows

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DES MOINES, IOWA

Otto Nathan's review was excellent. Thank you for it.

Rev. M. E. Dorr

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The following letter was received by Dr. Nathan:

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I agree with the philosophical position you take in your review of C. Wright Mills' book in greatly diminishing the responsibility he gives to the elite for war and insisting that it is a responsibility that the people share. I also agree that he does not give a very practical program, political or economic, to avert World War III. At that task I am trying my hand and a book of mine, **The Prerequisites for Peace,** will be published by Norton in April.

Norman Thomas

(See P. 16 Ed.)

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Take a look at Thailand for a case history of what happens when strong man government takes over in Southeast Asia. The Army stepped in. Martial law went into effect. The Constitution was shelved. The Assembly was dissolved. Military rule took over. Left wing press has been put out of business in effect . . . Some objectors —leftists, Assembly members, businessmen — are in jail. People can speak freely.

—**U.S. News & World Report,** 3/30/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B. F., Los Angeles, California.

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DETROIT, MICH.

What the GUARDIAN should point up is that Mills sounds a clarion call to his own class, the intelligentsia, to rally to the cause of peace. Is this to be ignored? It must be recognized that Mills is a man of stature and influence in the intellectual world, and it is important when he issues a manifesto demanding that his colleagues address themselves to analyzing and defining "the blind drift" toward thermo-nuclear destruction. It is important when he reveals the imperialist character of the enormous overseas capital investment by American corporations. It is important when this scholar dissects our economy with its built-in war budget; and emphasizes the cultural, political regimentation that accompanies it.

Mills doesn't stop at individual scholarship, however. He wants action. He suggests that scientists should find better things to do with their talents than working for a "Science Machine" that is hitched to a war chariot. He adjures the religious leadership to cleanse their sermons of cold-war propaganda. In sum, he is fed up with war intellectuals; he wants peace intellectuals.

How can the GUARDIAN fail to emphasize these positive aspects of Mill's latest and most potent book?

A. Scott

'The Power Elite'

BRONX, N.Y.

The moral challenge of our times must be addressed to those who are sick at heart over all the immorality with which we are surrounded after the power elite has been in the saddle for so long a time. The continuance of severe class schisms of a great number of white people against the colored race, the mass of hate literature against the Jewish race, the irreligious preachings of one so-called religious sect against another, the "superior" attitude of those who have profited considerably at the expense of "inferiors."

It is time the cognizant intellectuals bestirred themselves in promoting a system more in harmony with the human instinct for cooperative brotherhood which concentrates on the Collective Good for all mankind, the only God which can answer the prayer of humanity for a better world.

Miriam Stern

Zhivago-Pasternak

PUEBLO, COLO.

Re Pasternak: As civilization progresses, mankind's remaining uncorrected mistakes and needed changes appear more subtle, more complicated. In this light when a definite decision must be made it may appear as unduly authoritative. But, despite the belief of some drawing-room intellectuals to the contrary, as always, until the building of a better society and culture is accomplished, the need for personal sacrifices is still there.

There were Tory-Americans during and after our revolution who were downright displeased. Some of them even moved out!

Paul Stewart

Eccles, Daily Worker, London

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NYACK, N. Y.

I am not accustomed to finding the books I like on the best-seller list. I must confess that I read **Doctor Zhivago** out of curiosity, to see what all the fuss was about. Before reading it, I deplored the vicious attack on Pasternak, and pointed to the fact that the man is completely alone, without access to reply to his attackers on an equal footing. Having read **Doctor Zhivago,** I think it ranks with the best of Chekhov, Gorki or Sholokhov, and it will be read (and perhaps even published in the U.S.S.R.) when Konstantin Fedin and his associates are lost to memory.

It may be that thousands of Americans are reading Pasternak for wrong reasons. It is a pity that they are so misguided. But the Soviet critics and publishers are misguided in another way. If it were such a poor book, there would be no harm in publishing it and letting it sink into deserved obscurity. But they suppressed it and devoted (in the original) 11,000 words to its suppression. I am grateful that Pasternak was not "liquidated," as other writers, like Isaac Babel, were in the Stalin era. This proves that progress has occurred. But it is still wrong to suppress literature and shameful for the public officials to call a man a "pig" in public.

William Robert Miller

'Yugoslavia's Way'

HAMILTON, ONT.

The capitalist-loving "new method" leaders of Yugoslav "socialism" were properly rapped over the knuckles by Khrushchev at the 21st Congress of the Soviet Union when he said:

"It would be a good thing if the Yugoslav leaders, with their penchant for disquisitions about the withering away of coercive agencies, were to release all Communists now in prison for having disagreed with the new program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and for holding dissenting opinions on the building of socialism and the role of the party."

In future I would prefer to have space in the GUARDIAN devoted to something of importance rather than to those who tread the thin line between capitalism and "new Socialism."

T. L. D.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

YOU COULDN'T HAVE SQUEEZED into the Stade Buffalo, the Yankee Stadium of Paris. Hours before the meeting, benches overflowed; the approaches to the Rose Bowl on New Year's Day were never more jammed than the wide boulevards around the stadium. From the windows of homes on the boulevards, people had hung out homespun symbols of peace.

The huge sports field was a waving meadow; men, women, veterans—some of them wounded and blinded—and kids with slogans: WE WANT TO KEEP OUR DADDYS. Flags, balloons of many colors, flowers and banners waved above the crowd.

—From a report from Paris of the first World Congress of the partisans of Peace in the **Guardian, May 2, 1949**

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REPORT TO READERS

About this issue

WITH THIS, OUR PREMIER Spring Book Issue, thousands of readers are encountering the GUARDIAN for the first time. This is because subscribers all over the country and abroad—readers in unions, on campuses, in organizational life and just among their neighbors—have ordered bundles of extra copies, and so have book stores and other distributors.

For the new reader, we should explain that this issue differs a great deal from the GUARDIAN which goes weekly to some 30,000 subscribers in all 50 states and abroad. Normally the GUARDIAN is a 12-page paper (July-August, 8 pp.) These pages regularly contain exclusive correspondence from abroad, careful summarization and analysis of domestic news, lively news pictures and cartoons, outspoken editorial comment.

In regular stride, we are a peace paper, a pro-labor paper, a family-farm paper. In politics we are independent, in world affairs anti-imperialist, and we believe that coexistence with socialism implies understanding and good will toward the rising system chosen by nearly a billion of the world's people.

THE GUARDIAN IS THE PAPER which first perceived a great wrong in the trials of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. In the summer of 1951 we began a campaign in their behalf which brought their defense committees into being and ultimately evoked a world plea for clemency, including two intercessions by Pope Pius XII. This campaign continues in behalf of a new trial or executive clemency for Morton Sobell, who has spent nearly nine years in prison—unjustly, in our belief.

We have campaigned vigorously and ceaselessly against injustice and against deprivations of civil rights and liberties. We are doing so now in behalf of Smith Act and Taft-Hartley law victims, those pilloried by Congressional witchhunters, and minorities fighting for equal rights in our country, such as the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, Mexican-Americans and the foreign-born. We shall be at this job—reporting such cases and rallying our readers to their support—as long as inequality and injustice are with us.

CALM OBJECTIVITY, therefore, is not our stock in trade. We take a stand. We try to take the right stands. But the stands we take, you can always be sure, will be in line with a founding avowal of ours in our first issue (Oct. 18, 1948) that the interests of property should never, and nowhere, be respected above the interests of people. We can quote you stacks of testimonials won during the last nearly eleven years, but for a literary issue we rely on the kindly word of Sean O'Casey:

"I read the GUARDIAN, a brave and very sensible journal."

We have an expert, very hard-working staff here at home, and a host of brilliant contributors (some of whose works are contained in this special book issue). We have a foreign staff unmatched by any competitor (if indeed we have a competitor in our endeavors in the U.S.), with people stationed in and writing regularly from London, Paris, Moscow, Prague, the Arab Middle East, Israel, Canada, Mexico and other American states, India and China (where our Anna Louise Strong is presently the only U.S. correspondent).

We have a British-born Editor-in-Exile (see masthead) who was deported in 1955 technically on the unproved charge of having belonged to the Communist Party in Hollywood in 1937, but actually because he thumbed his nose (rhetorically) at Senator McCarthy in a Washington hearing. But our Editor-in-Exile's blossoming daughter, just turned 22, has written a best-seller here (**A Room in Moscow,** by Sally Belfrage; Reynal & Co., 221 E. 49th St., N.Y. 17; 186 pp., $3.50); was a guest in a parterre box at the Metropolitan Opera House for the opening of the Bolshoi Ballet the other night; and has been toasted and TV'd all over town.

WE HOPE you new readers will decide to string along with the fractious GUARDIAN for a trial run ($1 for 13 weeks; $5 a year; coupon on p. 20.). And we again urge you old, reliable regular readers to pass this paper on to other new hands, with a view to enlarging the GUARDIAN family and, of course, letting others in on the good books reviewed and discussed, the unusual bargains offered, and the challenging ideas which will pop up even when the editors take a back seat—in words if not in work—and let mere contributors takes over.

—THE GUARDIAN

CASE HISTORIES OF THE RUMANIAN VITAMIN H3 TREATMENT

They look and feel as though they were growing younger

Last winter writer Olga Franklin went to Bucharest for the London Daily Mail to investigate the reports of startling results achieved by Prof. Ana Aslan's work with Vitamin H3. In February she wrote a series of articles citing many cases reported in the dispatch below by Wilfred Burchett. Within days she had received thousands of letters and phone calls from readers wanting to go to Bucharest, seeking more information, asking for help. While the volume of mail received by the GUARDIAN in response to Burchett's earlier article on H3 has not been nearly so large, the interest evoked here has been great. Readers, many of them doctors or scientists, have asked to be put in touch with the authorities in Bucharest. To the best of our knowledge the novocaine therapy described below is not being practiced in the U.S. It was being used in England but was halted (many doctors regret the fact) with the discovery of cortisone. The manufacture of Vitamin H3 in Rumania is under the control of the Ministry for Chemical and Petroleum Products, Bucharest.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL, the problem of staving off old age has excited the mind of man. Classical literature and legends abound with instances of kings and potentates offering everything from a large slice of their realms to the hand of a fair princess to a concocter of the elixir of eternal youth. Faust was prepared to barter his soul. Millionaires of modern times have paid fabulous sums for a modest few years. A Swiss firm is doing a roaring trade at the moment in a costly youth serum based on the vital tissues of newborn monkeys.

Today, in once backward Rumania, some astonishing results have been achieved in developing a substance which—even if not the eternal elixir—at least makes old-age more tolerable and does in fact reverse some of the old-age processes. And it is available not just for the wealthy and privileged, but for ordinary people all over the world.

MARIA JUVANARU: In 1949, a Rumanian woman, Maria Juvanaru, was carried into a modest garden-enclosed building near the center of Bucharest. Her legs were permanently bent at the knees; she could walk only in a shuffling gait, her knees a few inches off the ground. Her legs were swollen, about the same thickness from the thighs right down to the ankles. Skin around the upper arms and neck and upper chest hung in loose, scaly folds. She was suffering from premature old-age; the worst symptom was the crippling rheumatism.

Today, at 78, she walks about briskly, her legs are shapely, her arms, neck and bosom are smooth and rounded as those of a young woman. Most spectacular of all, her hair, grey when she came, has returned to its original blond color. Many visitors have talked to her, as I have done recently, in the Prof. Parhon Institute of Geriatrics in Bucharest.

THE PIONEER: Prof. Parhon, after whom the Institute is named, is an outstanding Rumanian medical scientist. For almost half a century he has maintained that many of the commonest symptoms of old age are in fact diseases that can be treated and cured as other ailments. His research for years was concentrated on isolating the symptoms of old age as a prelude to treating them. Well over 90 and still leading a vigorous intellectual and physical life, Prof. Parhon is a living tribute to the soundness of his own theories.

The practical application and continuation of his work is now being carried out at the Institute, headed by Prof. Ana Aslan, one of his students and closest collaborators.

HOW IT HAPPENED: One is struck by the youth and vitality of Maria Juvanaru, despite the fact that she is approaching 80. What had happened?

In previous assaults on rheumatism, Prof. Aslan had achieved good results with novocaine injections. But she had never had such a hopeless-seeming case. She gave Maria Juvanaru two series of injections over a two-month period. At the end of the second series, Maria's legs straightened out and she could walk properly. The doses were kept up to get rid of rheumatism altogether. Her general condition improved rapidly. After a few more series, the patient's memory improved, the dry scaly skin and wrinkles started smoothing out.

Then her hair began turning blond again at the sides. It was found that a double process was taking place: some of the hair changing its pigmentation and a large proportion of new hair was completely blond. She was invited to stay on at the Institute to test the results of continuing treatment.

Meanwhile, Prof. Aslan worked on modifications of the novocaine to eliminate any chance of toxic effects from the continuing treatment.

Maria Juvanaru is only one of some 110 people who are "in-patients" at the Institute; but her case is the most interesting because she is living proof that massive doses of a special type of novocaine can be given continuously for a period of over nine years. At first, a group of 20 "in-patients" were given the novocaine treatment, later the number was increased to 62 as every treatment produced similar reactions to Maria Juvanaru's. The rest were given types of treatment varying according to the old-age symptoms.

PARSECH MARGASIAN: I first visited the Institute late in 1956 and spoke with people from 76 to 109. Even before learning any of the case histories, there were some striking impressions: voices were strong; handshakes strong and muscular—above all, their eyes were clear and vital. Two years later I visited the same people with the notes of the first visit in my hand. There was no doubt of the visible changes for the better. They had grown younger.

The grey down which had started to cover the formerly bald head of Peter Suciu two years previously, when he was 96, had now become a thick mat of strong grey hair, streaked with darker ones. His voice boomed out stronger than ever and his handclasp was like iron. As for Parsech Margasian, now 111, I had noted previously: "Hair snow-white, cords stand out on neck, walks stiffly, but clear in mind, straight as a tree, says apart from eye-trouble, feels fine."

Now his hair is thickly sprinkled with dark strands. The stringy cords have disappeared completely and his neck is as smooth as that of a man 80 years his junior. He is still as straight as a tree and walks more briskly.

A "FEW TOTS": "I feel wonderful," he said, "I am like steel, and if it were not for my eyes, I would be as good as any man alive." (He had had an operation for cataracts before coming to the Institute.) He spoke without any effort of memory about his early life in Armenia. About the Institute, he said: "When I started treatment four years ago, I could not leave my room. My memory had gone. Now I move around without any trouble."

For those who associate long life with alcoholic abstinence, Margasian confided to me that he took a "few tots" of brandy every day and he was especially pleased when his daughter, 78, arrived from Erevan with three bottles of the best Armenian cognac for him. He smokes a pipe "with moderation."

ORTANSA IORGULESCU: During my first visit I met Ortansa Iorgulescu, 83. She had been receiving treatment since 1951. A striking woman with jet black eye-brows and grey hair heavily streaked with black, she was engaged in some fine embroidery—without glasses—when I entered her room.

She told me: "I was very depressed from the age of 70. I lost all hope and interest in life. Then I started having treatment and within a short time my vitality and optimism returned. I felt an urge to take part in life again and keep up with all the latest developments in literature and science. I actually feel something working inside me, as if it were the physical processes of regeneration at work. I feel myself getting younger all the time."

She said her hair had been snow-white; her eye-brows had first turned white and then almost disappeared; her limbs had been very stiff. Now she performed knee-bends for me, touched her toes with her finger-tips without the slightest effort.

GEORGE BURCHETT: If all this was interesting to me, it was even more so for my father, George Burchett, 86, whose case was reported by Bill Irwin (GUARDIAN, March 23). He had started taking treatment on the basis of the excellent impressions I had from my first visit to the Institute. After the first two series of injections, he felt so well that he came all the way from Australia to Bucharest to check on how to continue. I had seen him last five years earlier, when he visited me in Peking. At almost 81, he was showing signs of old age, walked with some difficulty; his voice had developed a tremor.

But what a change five years later! At the Geriatrics Institute he was interested in exchanging experiences, but was specially interested in the remarks of Mme. Iorgulescu about "something working inside me." He had experienced similar physical sensations of "something at work," smoothing out wrinkles inside as well as out.

REGENERATIVE EFFECT: Prof. Aslan is a modest woman who refuses to make exaggerated claims. But she told me that the treatment is now "beyond the experimental stage. Its results are convincing and conclusive." Vitamin H3, as the modified novocain developed in the Institute has been named, does have a regenerative effect. It stimulates the production of para-amino-benzoic acid in the intestinal tracts and this has an extraordinary tonic effect on the whole system. It restores elasticity to the tissues and thus strikes directly at scleroses and atrophies.

Between my two visits to the Institute, research workers abroad had proved something Prof. Aslan had not been able to confirm—namely that H3 actually has a regenerative effect also on the fibres of the heart muscles.

A GERMAN REPORT: The German Medical Journal (Nov. 8, 1958), published in Frankfurt-am-Main, refers to the "Possibilities and Perspectives for Treating Old Age" by a West German expert, Dr. Luth.

"If we take into account the experiments carried out up to now," writes Luth, "we must acknowledge that the therapy of Parhon and Aslan is able to diminish or eliminate for a long time certain predominant disturbances of the old-aged . . . What remain is . . . the effect of a subjective improvement and 'revitalization' which is often testified to by objective clinical facts such as the normalization of blood pressure, improvement of gait, improvement of consciousness, etc. Is it a question of rejuvenation? Have Parhon and Aslan succeeded in finding an intervention in constitutional aging?"

Luth does not give a direct answer to his own questions. For the laymen, however, it would seem that, whatever it is called, the important thing is that the Bucharest Institute has developed a treatment which makes old people look and act and feel as if they were growing younger.

BEGINS TOMORROW: The amazing experiment of growing younger

THIS YOUNG MAN IS 100 YEARS OLD

BY OLGA FRANKLIN

TO me this man is a miracle. Teodor Marisov, standing on his hands and balancing on a table, is 100 years old.

When he was 58 he was crippled with arthritis. Couldn't use limbs or fingers. Was completely bald.

Then he was sent to the Institute of Geriatrics in Bucarest, Rumania.

Today, this gay, dark-haired centenarian can run two miles, skip, jump like any man in the prime of his life.

I met him last week in Bucarest. When we shook hands his grip was so strong I yelped

THIS IS HOW THE LONDON MAIL PLAYED ITS SERIES
And then the mail came pouring into Fleet Street

London Observer
"We're calling about the letter you wrote to us in 1928 volunteering to pilot the first rocket to the moon . . ."

CREEPING PARALYSIS HAS SET IN

This is the new America: sprawling, disjointed cities

WASHINGTON

A FLOOD OF LIGHT is being shed on one of the most serious and interesting problems faced by a majority of Americans today—the haphazard growth of great cities in the last few decades.

The light comes from a series of pamphlets in process of publication by the Committee for Economic Development (CED). Its Area Development Committee, headed by Jervis A. Babb, published the first study last month, and has now issued a second. More are to follow.

The first of these booklets was **The Changing Economic Function of the Central City** by Dr. Raymond Vernon, director of the New York Metropolitan Regional Study. The brochure now appearing is entitled **Metropolis Against Itself** by Dr. Robert C. Wood, assistant professor of political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The series is being produced with the help of an Area Development Advisory Board of distinguished and experienced planners and administrators.

FRIGHTENING GROWTH: Behind the decision of CED to concentrate upon urban-metropolitan problems was the somewhat frightening fact that technology has produced a new America— the America of the sprawling metropolis in which are to be found two-thirds of the nation's people, 70% of its industrial jobs and about half of our real wealth.

The growth has been so fast and so disorganized that most of our cities already are degenerating at their very hearts, their traffic arteries are clogged, and creeping financial paralysis is experienced in providing schools, libraries, sewers, streets, and playgrounds for the rapidly spreading suburbs.

The first study pointed to the problems. The second indicates that they are not going to be solved satisfactorily unless the people who live within our cities, or travel to them daily for work, find a way to foresee, developments cooperatively, and to adjust the growth of their areas to well-considered plans.

15,658 SEPARATE UNITS: Dr. Wood poses a conflict between the need for amalgamating under central authority the heart city and its suburbs, and their individual desires for independence. Many cities cover several counties, or parts of counties. Besides there are within them numerous separate governmental jurisdictions. As of January, 1957, he points out, there were 15,658 individual governmental units in the 174 metropolitan areas of the United States, each possessing "discretion in the management of its own affairs." The figures are those of the Census Bureau.

Forty percent of these were independent school districts. The rest were divided almost equally among municipalities, special districts, counties and townships. Except for the school districts, the jurisdictions are increasing in number. Take just one example: In 1900 the "standard" metropolitan New York area had 127 governments; by 1920, 204; today more than 1,000.

Although there is great diversity in the type of government unit, one-third are clustered in nine metropolitan regions, Dr. Wood found.

"The conditions of congestion," he writes, increased density, and obsolescence in the older parts of the region, and the creation of new settlements on the fringe, establish inescapable needs for community facilities and services if the essentials of civilized existence are to be ensured.

"More people living more closely together require more regulations in public safety, health, and housing. . . . Business requirements for skilled manpower place new importance on the public schools, automobiles need highways, and when modern medicine advances life expectancy, it concurrently expands welfare programs."

SLOW DETERIORATION: Dr. Wood doesn't see any immediately impending catastrophe. But he does foresee a gradual worsening of conditions unless pres-

ently independent governmental units somehow find a way to unite under coordinated area direction.

He isn't very hopeful that this will happen soon.

"Even if the public comes to demand these more positive programs, it is unlikely to be willing to pay the price of a thorough-going reorganization and reform," he writes. "Autonomy is valued for the democratic benefits it bestows: the opportunity for direct popular participation, the chance to know public officials personally, and the fact that local issues are concrete and understandable."

FROM MANHATTAN TO NEW JERSEY: FRUSTRATION COMPOUNDED
This is a typical day on the beautiful George Washington Bridge

He continues: "When each jurisdiction goes on its separate way, urban sprawl continues, with its companions of spreading blight, cheap commercial developments along major highways, inadequate parks, congested schools, mediocre administration, smog, traffic jams, recurrent crises in mass transportation, and the hundred and one irritations of undirected growth.

"When local government disclaims responsibility for the regional environment, the capacity to realize the potential of that environment is irrevocably lost."

When this happens, the state and federal governments are virtually forced to step in and plan solutions, he points out. And competition between local governments which ensues often means mistakes in investment and greater costs to the business of the area.

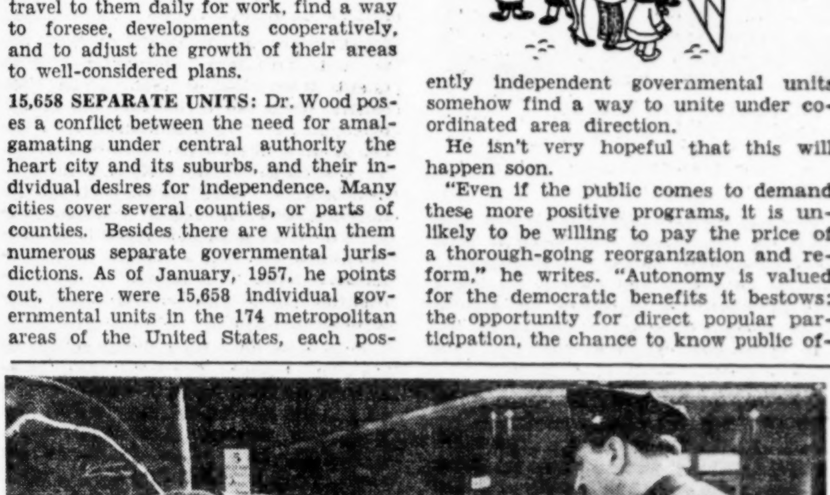
NEW APPROACH: If these consequences seem sufficiently undesirable, the author suggests, "a new and different philosophy of government is in order."

"The carefully devised structure to permit a tolerable flow of public investment," he writes, "will have to give way to a structure which has the authority to make decisions about the region's transportation network, its broad pattern of land use, its common recreational facilities, the renewal of its obsolete sections, the contamination of its air and streams, the preservation of nature's amenities.

"The system of representation—of individual citizens looking directly to one small government or to no government at all—will have to be replaced by a system which uses parties, pressure groups, professional politicians and executives, and legislators elected on a regional basis —in short, by a modern democratic system."

LAISSEZ-FAIRE & BUST: Dr. Wood sums up the problem: "Throughout this century, people have debated the question of whether or not the American political system could countenance an unbridled laissez-faire economy—whether it did not have to intervene by selective measures to redress the balance of competition, at times to preserve it, and at times to guide it.

"The issue is whether or not a modern economic system, requiring positive stimulation and selective aid and direction by public authority, can tolerate an unbridled laissez-faire profusion of governments which systematically avoid any responsibility for these matters."



SHE DOESN'T WANT HER KIDS TO KNOW THE FACE OF WAR
Mrs. Janice Smith and her children before City Hall Park arrest

Civil defense

(Continued from Page 1)

war machine. Weeks said he acted in the tradition of Quakers who believed in following the higher dictates of their conscience.

The judge sentenced all 17 to a $25 fine or ten days in jail. He suspended the sentences of 12 who were first offenders. Five chose jail instead of the fine. They were Dorothy Day and Hennacy of the **Catholic Worker**; Karl Meyer, son of the new Congressman from Vermont; Arthur Harvey and Deane Mowrer. From April 25 to May 4, pickets marched outside the New York Women's House of Detention with peace placards in support of Miss Day and the others.

AT GUARDIAN press time, in Forest Hills David Evanier and Barbara Krause, both minors, remained paroled to their parents. In Haverstraw, Ruth Best, a Quaker housewife, pleaded not guilty. She was represented by civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn; she got a postponement of her trial till April 28. The judge in Haverstraw ordered artist Vera Williams out of the court when she refused to pay a $25 fine.

Also on April 17 four Quakers—Dr. E. R. Stabler, professor of mathematics at Hofstra College; Stella Jacobi, sculptress; Harry Purvis, manufacturer, and John Davenport—distributed leaflets in front of the United Nations. The leaflet said in part: "There is one and only one kind of civil defense against today's weapons of mass extermination. This is civil defense through peace." They found it ironic that UN delegates were required to take shelter in compliance with U.S. Civil Defense drills.

Cybernovel

SCIENTIST NORBERT WEINER of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, father of cybernetics, has written a novel, his first, for Random House. It is called **The Tempter**, and is about a great invention. Also at Random House, humorist Frank Sullivan and cartoonist George Price have joined forces in what they call a caprice for children of all ages, called **A Moose in the Hoose**. Both on the fall list.

THE GUARDIAN'S SPRING BOOK SECTION

IN THE GREAT TRADITION: FROM 1776 THROUGH THE NEW DEAL . . . AND THE FUTURE

THE LIFE BLOOD OF A NATION

The radical heritage of America

The following article was excerpted and edited for the GUARDIAN by the author from the chapter, "Radicalism in Perspective, in the new, expanded edition of his book Critic & Crusaders *(Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 131 E. 23 St., N.Y. 10. 662 pp. $5.95.) The new version includes chapters on the late Sen. George W. Norris, Henry A. Wallace and former Senator (now Supreme Court Justice) Hugo L. Black. With special significance to May Day, 1959, the book recalls that Sen. Black introduced the first 30-hour week bill in 1933. The original* Critics & Crusaders, *which is retained intact in the expanded work, dealt with the contributions of 18 foremost leaders of American radical thought and action from Abolitionist days to the socialism of De Leon, Debs and John Reed.*

By Charles A. Madison

IN A VERY REAL SENSE the United States was conceived and firmly established by the radicals of 1776. It was Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson and many others like them who risked their liberty, if not their lives, in their efforts to overthrow British rule and unite the colonies into a nation dedicated to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. Because Jefferson most eloquently expressed the principles of freedom and equality—ideals consonant with the demands of the prevailing handicraft civilization—he became the

patron saint of the later radicals.

From his time to ours many Americans have found inspiration in the doctrines of Jeffersonian democracy and have fought for them on the platform, in the polling booth, and on the battlefield. It was a continuous struggle because new wrongs always rose, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of old iniquities; yet these idealists, now few and ineffectual and now numerous and strong, were ever ready to battle for the rights of the poor and the oppressed.

Probably no other wrong in the life of the American republic generated so much altruism and exaltation as Negro slavery. Although the Abolitionists were in a sense the apostles of an emerging industrialism, they were even more—at least individually—the exponents of a democratic ethics. They believed literally that God made all men free and equal and they could not abide the thought that millions of human beings were living in bondage.

AFTER THE CIVIL WAR the struggle for economic justice brought about a new realignment of forces: it was no longer Southerners against Northerners but the mass of the people against the powerful corporations . . .

Radicals and humanitarians readily took up the cause of economic justice. The fight was long and yielded meager reforms. The reason is twofold. The nature of economic democracy directly affects the very life of modern capitalism, since it implies limitations upon the freedom of enterprise that must ultimately dry up the source of the profit motive.

Up to the depression of the 1930's, businessmen, riding the crest of industrial development, had little difficulty in brushing aside the attempts to impede their progress. The reformers, moreover, either unaware of the logic of their economic doctrine or yielding to wishful thinking on the effectiveness of palliatives, pursued an obsolescent social philosophy and attacked the symptoms rather than the causes of industrial exploitation . . . Their agitation, however, failed to check the evils of an aggressive capitalism.

THE POST-CIVIL WAR liberals were Jeffersonian idealists. Suspecting bigness and great wealth and provoked by the get-and-grab methods of the aggressive corporations, they saw the country despoiled of its wealth, the nation robbed of its birthright, and the farmers and laborers deprived of their just share. They worked hard to right these wrongs, but their proposed reforms went against the tide of capitalistic development.

For a time their spirited agitation could put only an occasional brake upon the aggrandizement of the powerful monopolies or expose the misfeasance of men in office. Nevertheless, the attacks upon special privileges and corrupt government made by Henry Demarest Lloyd and John Peter Altgeld in the 1890's and by Robert M. LaFollette, the muckrakers and the Progressives after the turn of the century, prepared the way for the triumphant New Dealers in the 1930's . . .

THE MARXIAN SOCIALISTS have been the most persistent and the most radical critics of the status quo. Their agitation proved ineffective because their basic principles of the class struggle and the cooperative commonwealth seems both pernicious and preposterous to a people imbued with the rightness of the laissez-faire doctrine. Few were ready to scrap a system that enabled a poor man to become a millionaire through his own efforts. For many years, therefore, the socialists received the same treatment as the early Abolitionists: they were either scorned or ignored.

After 1900 the widespread social consciousness generated by the muckrakers served to give all radicals a favorable hearing. But the success of the Russian Revolution and the after-effects of World War I gave Marxism a frightening immediacy. The resulting hysteria drove most of the socialists into the underground camp of the communists—the faction that had joined the Third International. Relatively few in number and frequently treated like traitors and outcasts, these radicals nevertheless took a leading part in the struggle for social justice.

Notwithstanding their theoretical confusion and wide practical divergence, the various groups opposing the status quo have achieved notable success in their work to strengthen the democratic base of the American people. One need only recall the grievous conditions existing long after the Civil War—when men labored 12 hours a day for subsistence wages, working conditions were brutal and unsafe, trade unions were few and ineffective, social protection was unknown, farmers were at the mercy of the bankers and the railroads, and corporations practiced fraud and chicane at will —to realize that the sum of social legislation enacted in recent years is of a truly revolutionary character. It is at least partly due to the agitation of these critics and crusaders that the American people are at present enjoying a combination of political freedom and economic well-being which is the envy of the world.

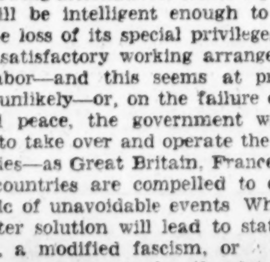
WHAT of the future? To consider this question is to deal with conditions that differ fundamentally from those that confronted the radicals of the previous century. Before the 1930's men of wealth were firmly in the saddle. They enjoyed the privileges and powers bestowed upon them by a government functioning under a laissez-faire interpretation of the Constitution . . .

Big business enjoyed these privileges until the early 1930's, when the severe economic depression gave rise to the New Deal. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt on a liberal platform transferred the government of the country to a body of key men—many of whom had grown up under Thorstein Veblen—who knew that the laissez-faire policy had become completely anachronistic in an age of vast technological and electronic development.

It was painfully obvious to them that the individual urban workman, entirely dependent upon his job for his livelihood, was not the equal of the wealthy corporation and must be shielded from exploitation and unemployment; that the small investor and the poor farmer were alike in need of protection from Wall Street and from Main Street respectively . . .

Before long there was considerable general improvement in both wage rates and working conditions. By the end of World War II more than 14,000,000 union members, conscious of their important part in the amazing rise in production, were determined to get their full share of the nation's augmented income . . .

LABOR, NOW ON THE DEFENSIVE, is by no means so strong as its opponents insist. But in its favor are the positive trends in social and industrial development. There is no going back: science and invention impel us ever forward; and the problems they originate require fresh methods of treatment. The complexity of modern industrialism, requiring large concentration of workers and a completely urban mode of existence, has given organized labor a tremendous potential power; the operation of any major industry has become so essential to the life of the nation that no government can permit its interruption. As a



consequence the doctrines of "free enterprise" and "rugged individualism" have gone the way of human slavery and the horse and buggy . . .

An examination of the problem of capital-labor relations leads, willy-nilly, to the following alternatives: either big business will be intelligent enough to concede the loss of its special privileges and seek a satisfactory working arrangement with labor—and this seems at present highly unlikely—or, on the failure of industrial peace, the government will be forced to take over and operate the basic industries—as Great Britain, France, and other countries are compelled to do by the logic of unavoidable events. Whether the latter solution will lead to state socialism, a modified fascism, or a liberalized communism is for the future to determine.

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THE CENTENARY OF A MAN WHO LOVED PEOPLE

The bittersweet world of Sholem Aleichem

By Yuri Suhl

FEW WRITERS, in any language, have won such sustained acclaim and admiration of their people as has Sholem Aleichem. March 2, 1959, which marked the 100th anniversary of his birth, touched off a series of Sholem Aleichem celebrations on a grand and global scale.

In the Soviet Union, where he has long been a favorite, the government has issued a commemorative Sholem Aleichem postage stamp; the Ministry of Culture has initiated a number of Sholem Aleichem concerts on stage, radio and TV; articles have appeared in almost all leading newspapers and literary periodicals; a six-volume edition of his works, in Russian translation, is being published in several hundred thousand copies. It is significant that the first book in Yiddish to appear in the Soviet Union in the last ten years is a 350-page volume of Sholem Aleichem's writings.

Israel, too, has proclaimed a Sholem Aleichem year and the government issued a Sholem Aleichem stamp. There is a movement here to persuade our Postmaster General to do the same. The mayors of Chicago and New York have proclaimed a Sholem Aleichem week in their cities. Celebrations are being held in many parts of the world. The centenary of his birth has, indeed, become an international cultural event.

THIS IS ALL THE MORE remarkable since Sholem Aleichem's writings are deeply steeped in the idiom of his people. His language abounds in folk sayings and folk witticisms; is interspersed with many Hebrew quotations from the scriptures and the Talmud and is liberally sprinkled with Slavisms. He is perhaps the most Yiddish of all Yiddish writers. Yet he has been translated into many languages and is read with great delight by many peoples.

The explanation is found in the 30-odd volumes of Aleichem's writings. His monologues, stories, novels and plays though written about Jews who lived in the Pale of Settlement under the czarist regime in the latter half of the 19th century, vibrate with a love of the people and their yearnings and strivings for freedom that is common to humanity everywhere. Like Gorky, Sholem Aleichem had a deep abiding faith in the dignity of the human being and in the brotherhood of man. Such humanism knows no linguistic barriers and defies geographic boundaries.

Sholem Aleichem was a people's writer in the truest sense of the word; that is, he consciously harnessed his great talent in the service of his people, the ordinary folk, whose life was a perpetual struggle for existence. "Whoever knows our people," he once said, "knows that there are more heroes among our common folk than among our 'higher class' known as the intelligentsia."

ONE SUCH HERO is the unforgettable Tevyeh, the dairyman, one of Sholem Aleichem's best known creations. Despite the many shattering afflictions life had heaped upon him, Tevyeh could still say: "So long as a single vein continues to pulsate one must not lose faith." To cling to life with such stubbornness and tenacity in a Pale of Settlement where starvation, oppression and pogroms became a 'normal' part of one's existence, required more than the instinctive will to live. It called for a superhuman effort that only a deep conviction of the worthfulness of life, coupled with a sense of self-worth as a human being, could sustain.

Sholem Aleichem's contribution to this effort was his faith in the unlimited potential of the people and their ability to struggle through to a better life if given a chance. He spent a lifetime saying this in his inimitable way through the many-faceted forms of his creativity; and what he said went straight to the heart of the people.

To the people he was an inspiration and a guide. He gave their anger voice and their imagination wings. Torrents of words pour out of the Kasrilevkites whom their oppressors expected to bear their numerous burdens in submissive silence. Sholem Aleichem opened their mouths, removed their inhibitions, and they became articulate to a point of garrulity.

SHOLEM ALEICHEM'S people unburden their heavy hearts to one another. They cry out against the injustices of their own unscrupulous rich. They lash out against their czarist tormentors and against their unhappy fate generally. They even write to their favorite author, Mr. Sholem Aleichem, telling him their troubles, asking his advice and encouraging him to keep up the good work.

Tevyeh is forever "writing" to Mr. Sholem Aleichem, and Mr. Sholem Aleichem is forever making public Tevyeh's communications. The result of this one-sided "correspondence" is one of the masterpieces of world literature.

And Sholem Aleichem continued to write up Kasrilevke, Yehupetz, Kozedoivke, and all the other towns which were mythical in name only but very real and recognizable to the Jews who inhabited them. These "write-ups" were mirrors in which they saw a true reflection of themselves. The image was not always a flattering one, but that did not matter because the holder of the mirror was a trusted friend; an insider; one of them. "I love this Berditchev street," said Sholem Aleichem. "I love it with my whole being, without sophistication, without fawning, without flattery, even though I have, more than once, had the occasion to laugh at it; at its wild and bizarre specimens." And they, too, laughed. For Sholem Aleichem had given them a most precious gift—laughter; a potent weapon in their struggle for survival.

"Laughter," said Sean O'Casey, "is wine for the soul . . . a laugh is the loud echo of a sigh, a sigh the faint echo of a laugh . . . and once we laugh we can live. It is the hilarious declaration made by man that life is worth living." Without aiming to do so consciously, O'Casey has here set forth a perfect definition of Sholem Aleichem's humor: Therein lies his special genius and the reason for his immense and ever-growing popularity.

SHOLEM ALEICHEM'S aim was not merely to entertain and evoke a laugh because life was so unbearably grim and difficult. Welcome as this relief might be it would, at best, be hardly enough for survival. Sholem Aleichem's humor is profound. It springs from the depth of the tragic and with its startling and surprising turn illumines the tragic with an even sharper light. There was no side to life, however serious or solemn, which did not have for Sholem Aleichem its humorous aspect.

He once said: "'There is no humor in heaven,' says Mark Twain. And I say there's humor everywhere, on earth, at the cemetery, in heaven, even in hell." Is there a more serious subject than death? This is Tevyeh's comment on it: "A human being can be likened to a carpenter. A carpenter lives, and lives, and lives, and finally dies, and so does a human being." Even from the pogrom, the grimmest of all situations that Jews faced in those days, Sholem Aleichem was able to extract its humorous component.

This was a scene from "Tevyeh and His Daughters," a stage dramatization of the Sholem Aleichem work as presented in New York in 1957. It spoke a universal language.

Another famous Sholem Aleichem character, one whose name has become a household word among the Jewish people, is Menachem Mendel, the prototype of the **Luftmensh.** The complete opposite of earthy, hardworking Tevyeh, Menachem Mendel is out of touch with reality. His mind is in a constant whirl, spinning at a dizzying speed with schemes of how to get rich quick. He is a commission agent on the stock exchange, a dealer in sugar, a subscription agent for a newspaper, a writer, a matchmaker; and the list is far from exhausted. His big fortune is always one step ahead of him, but it is a step of unbridgeable distance. Once he almost succeeded in making a match, but because of some slight oversight he brought together two males.

IN HIS PENETRATING study, **The World of Sholem Aleichem,** Maurice Samuel characterizes the Menachem Mendel type as "the man who starves by his wits," and he adds: "Some day an analyst of the evils of capitalism will turn for a moment from the dark saga of the exploited toilers and find a word to spare for the wretched Menachem Mendels of the world."

Sholem Aleichem had such a word for the Menachem Mendels of Kasrilevke, Yehupetz, and all the other towns where Jews lived and struggled. He exposed the futility of their non-productive lives, but his criticism was not devoid of compassion. For he knew that they, too, were victims; that for many of them Menachem Mendelism was a way of life forced upon them by circumstances beyond their control.

Sholem Aleichem has created a rich galaxy of women characters. His women are not relegated to an inferior position. They struggle side by side with the men and oftentimes theirs is the more heroic struggle because they frequently carry the larger share of the burden. While Menachem Mendel is off somewhere in Yehupetz, chasing financial rainbows, his wife, Sheineh-Sheindel, is left to her own wits to keep herself and a roomful of hungry children from starving.

Tevyeh may say a woman remains a woman; or, what can one expect of a woman; but essentially his relationship with his wife, Golde, is that of equals. They work together on their dairy business and consult each other on all the issues that arise in their lives. Their own seven daughters provide a variety of women characters, each with her own temperament and distinct individuality. Of these, Hodel, the second from the oldest, is unforgettable.

Sholem Aleichem's best known juvenile character is Mottel, the cantor's son. Mottel's zest for life is unconquerable and will break through the grimmest of circumstances. Very early in life he has learned the art of survival by extracting an element of solace from the most despairing situation.

Mottel's adventures in the Old Country and in his new homeland, America, continue to delight young and old alike, for Sholem Aleichem wrote about children from a profound knowledge of the child's inner life. His children's stories are about children and not for children only.

THE WORLD THAT Sholem Aleichem depicted no longer exists. But the struggle for the ideals that permeate his works—human dignity, freedom and equality—still goes on on many levels and in many parts of the globe. So long as humanity will continue to dream and struggle for the attainment of these ideals so long will his work endure.

Today, as we honor him on the centenary of his birth, we return to him not only for a faithful record of a world that is gone, but also for faith in the world that is and for inspiration in the struggle for the world of tomorrow. Above all, we return to him for laughter, the laughter that is "the hilarious declaration made by man that life is worth living."

His real name was Sholem Rabinowitz. The pen-name he chose for himself—Sholem Aleichem—is a common Hebrew expression of greeting among Jews meaning "Peace be to you." It is an expression that unites rather than divides. In a world charged with strife, racial tension and the threat of atomic war, Sholem Aleichem, by his very name, is expressive of the hopes and yearnings of all mankind.

Yuri Suhl, poet, lecturer and author of the just-published biography of Ernestine Rose, pioneer suffragette, has also written the delightful One Foot in America *and* Cowboy on a Wooden Horse.

Jewish People's Chorus to honor Sholem Aleichem

THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S Philharmonic Chorus, under the leadership of Eugene Malek, will present a special program May 16 at Town Hall. Part of the concert will be devoted to the Sholem Aleichem Centennial, with the presentation of the new cantata "Oifn Fidl" (The Violin). The music, by Vladimir Heifetz, is based on one of Sholem Aleichem's best known stories of childhood.

The balance of the concert will be devoted to the Handel Bicentennial, and will feature selections from the composer's **Joshua, Samson and Judas Maccabeus.** Ticket information can be obtained by calling STillwell 3-6869.

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Who said there was no fun in Left literature?

By Annette T. Rubinstein

THE ENGLISH DRAMATIC critic Kenneth Tynan remarked last year that the often truthful statement that "the Tories are wicked and have most of the fun" is, by too many contemporary socialists, perverted into the untruth that "the Tories are wicked **because** they have most of the fun." If by fun we mean wit and humor, rather than luxury or leisure, even the first statement is, historically, quite untrue.

Whether we are thinking of such bitter wit and grim satire as Jonathan Swift's **Modest Proposal** and Bertholt Brecht's equally brilliant and destructive **Threepenny Novel**, or of such more good-humored mockery as Dickens' and Mr. Dooley's, left-wing literature, whenever it has been alive at all, has been alive to the use of humor both as a weapon and as a bracer—or even as a safety valve.

Shakespeare was well aware of this propensity of the common people, and whenever there is a slanging match between them and their betters there is no doubt who gets the worst of the exchange. Consider the cobbler and the tribunes in **Julius Caesar**, the plebians and the patrician in **Coriolanus**, the sailors and the prime minister in **The Tempest**, the soldiers and the king in **Henry V**, or the fool and almost any titled gentleman in any of the comedies, or in **King Lear**. (Have fun, look these up for yourself!)

AN ANONYMOUS POET in the 15th century, commenting wryly on the "enclosure acts" expropriating public lands, says:

The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common;
But leaves the man or woman loose
Who steals the common from the goose!

And a young Negro poet in the depression Chicago of the 1930's brought this up to date with:

It's a crime/To steal a dime;
But a railroad steal/Is a business deal!

At the turn of this century striking textile workers in Longfellow's Massachusetts appropriately announced:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can do as well as they,
And, departing, leave behind us
Shorter hours and better pay.

About the same time a forgotten American poet emphatically denied "Social Darwinism" (the belief, to which Darwin never subscribed, that "natural selection" justified a competitive society) with a poem beginning:

The unfit die. The fit both live and thrive
Alas, who say so? Those who do survive.

Arnold Clough in England said the same thing in his **Victorian Ten Commandments** which ended:

Thou shalt not covet, but tradition
Approves all kinds of competition.

And Thomas Huxley himself, known as "Darwin's bulldog" through his long, arduous and successful fight for the acceptance of **The Descent of Man**, categorically declared: "The purpose of civilization is not to test fitness for survival, but to fit as many as possible to survive." He also, in a debate with a bishop, countered his opponent's attack on the gloomy perspectives of evolution by asserting, "It seems to me far more hopeful to think that man has reached his present state in ascent from the apes than in descent from the angels."

In **The Liberator** Sarah Cleghorn (who died just last month at 83) contributed a telling blow in the fight against child labor with

The golf course was so near the mill
That almost every day
The little children at their work
Could watch the men at play.

THE PRESIDENT AT WORK

And in the **New Masses** another anonymous versifier turned the joke inward by asking, with apparent naivete,

They drew girls for the old Masses,
Huge unclad ungainly lasses;
How did that help the working classes?

PROSE CANNOT BE QUOTED as quickly as poetry, and the great works of satire do not lend themselves to brief example, but a touch of Swift's quality may be given by the slogan he used in organizing an Irish boycott: "Burn everything that comes from England except the coal."

Hazlitt, too, usually needs more room to stretch, but in 1817 when, despite 20 years of comparatively high national income and nuge war expenditures, English living standards reached a new low, Hazlitt concluded a brilliant analysis of the "Distresses of the Country" by saying, "War in itself is a sensible thriving traffic only to cannibals."

Burns, too, could be witty in his opposition to war in prose as well as poetry. On the declaration of a national thanksgiving for England's success in sinking the better part of the tiny American navy, Burns, who thoroughly disapproved of the war with the colonies, wrote:

Ye hypocrites! Are these your pranks,
To murder men, and gie God thanks?
For shame! gie o'er, proceed no further—
God won't accept your thanks for murther!

When, later, in government employ, he was called upon to give the toast to the armed forces in the war against Republican France, Burns leaped to his feet, raised his glass, and exclaimed: "May our success in the present war be equal to the justice of our cause."

His contemporary, William Blake, rebuked as a religious man for stirring up class hatred and dissension, wrote in reply:

Who loves his enemies hates his friends,
This surely is not what Jesus intends.

Two other romantic poets, Coleridge in his clear-sighted radical youth and Byron just a short while before he died fighting for Greek independence, proved equally recalcitrant to religious pacification and such conventional considerations as **de mortuis nihil nisi bonum.** Coleridge openly rejoiced in the death of a reactionary leader, saying:

An excellent adage demands that we should
Repeat of the dead that alone which is good;
But of the great lord who here lies wrapped in lead
We know nothing good—except that he's dead!

And when Prime Minister Castlereagh went certifiably mad (like Forrestal) and committed suicide, Byron remarked in print,

So Castlereagh has cut his throat? The worst
Of that is that his own was not the first!

IT IS DIFFICULT to stop without even token recognition of the literally scores of other great writers who cry out to be laughed with—both those like Shaw whom everyone will miss, and those like Ruskin and Morris whom few now know well enough to miss—but we must include at least two remarks by our own Mr. Dooley who ended a learned barroom discussion on the status of Puerto Rico with the comment: "I don't know whether or not th' Constitootion follows th' flag. But this I know—the Soopreem Coort follows th' iliction returns." A little later he clearly described the law of relativity—or perhaps the relativity of law—by explaining: "What looks like a stone wall to you an' me, Hinnessey, is just a triumphal arch to a corporation lawyer."

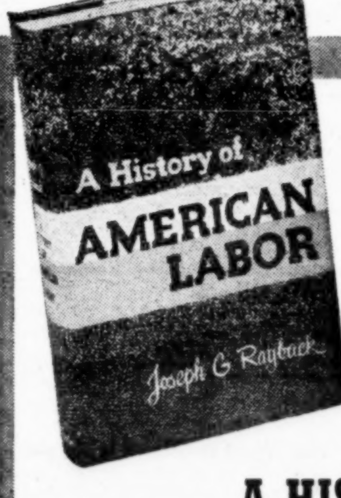
And finally, (for today) another serious wit, a young English communist, Ralph Fox, who was killed fighting with the Spanish loyalists, summarized a whole volume of literary criticism in his epigram:

"'Art for Art's sake' is only the hopeless answer of the artist to the slogan 'Art for money's sake':—hopeless because ivory never was a good material for fortifications."

Annette T. Rubinstein, writer, teacher, lecturer, indefatigable political actionist, is the author of The Great Tradition: From Shakespeare to Shaw.

—N.Y. Times Book Review

"But Gunther couldn't mention EVERYONE!"



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KARL MARX & AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP

'Read Marx. Uncover the roots...'

By Herbert Aptheker

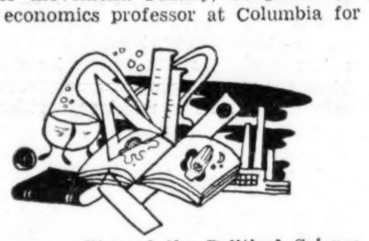
MARXISM, if presented at all sympathetically, is practically verboten on nearly all American campuses. This fact, alone, goes far to stultify the present U.S. educational system.

Such behavior not only violates elementary canons of scholarship; it violates, in particular, the practices of the most notable exemplars of American scholarship. For if one were asked to name the ten or twelve outstanding figures in social science produced by the U.S. academic community in the Twentieth Century he would have to include these six names: Charles A. Beard (1874-1948); John R. Commons (1862-1945); James Harvey Robinson (1863-1936); E. R. A. Seligman (1861-1939); Albion W. Small (1854-1926); and Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929).

I am including only figures who, through most of their adult lives, were actively connected with leading universities; I am not including a man of genius in the area of social science like W. E. B. DuBois, whose indebtedness to Marx is, of course, very great and openly acknowledged, but who, nevertheless (or, therefore!) was never a member of the "respectable" American academic world.

CONCERNING THE SIX men singled out, only the barest biographical data are necessary. Beard and Veblen were, respectively, the foremost historian and economist in American academic circles. Small was the founder of the first Dept. of Sociology in the U.S. (at the University of Chicago) and founder and editor, for many years, of the **American Journal of Sociology.** Robinson, one of Beard's teachers, was a history professor at Columbia for a generation, a founder of the New School for Social Research, and a president of the American Historical Assn. Commons was an economics professor at Wisconsin for almost 30 years and a pioneer in the study of the American labor movement. Finally, Seligman was an economics professor at Columbia for 45 years, editor of the **Political Science Quarterly,** editor-in-chief of the **Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,** and a president of the American Economic Assn.

Dr. Aptheker is editor of Political Affairs, *a foremost student of Negro history in America and the author of many books of which the newest,* The Colonial Era, *will be published this month as the first of a multi-volume* History of the American People.



ALL THESE GREAT scholars repeatedly referred in their lectures and writings to the ideas of Marx. They were not themselves Marxists, but they treated Marxism as one of the great systems of world thought.

Since references to and discussions of Marxism recur in their work, it is not possible within these space limits to offer a rounded presentation of their estimates of Marxism. But representative excerpts will be sufficient, I think, to establish my point. Many of the formulations in these excerpts are, in my opinion, faulty, but they indicate the respect and admiration which these leading American scholars had for Marx's ideas.

• In one of Robinson's volumes (**History,** Columbia University Press, 1908) we find Marx referred to as one "who suggested a wholly new and wonderful series of questions which the historian might properly ask about the past, and moreover furnished him with a scientific explanation of many matters hitherto ill-understood."

• Commons, writing in **The Atlantic Monthly** (November, 1925), observed that Marx "is recognized by economists as one of the three or four greatest minds who have contributed to the progress of economic science."

• Veblen, in a series of articles devoted to Marx's economic ideas, published in the **Quarterly Journal of Economics** (August, 1906, February, 1907), said that Marx required the most careful study; that his brilliance was extraordinary and that "there is no system of economic theory more logical than that of Marx."

• Joseph Dorfman, in his splendid book, **Veblen and His Times** (Viking Press, N.Y., 1935) cites Veblen's remark that Marx was "coming to be more widely appreciated as he becomes better understood." To his students Veblen would often say, noted Dorfman: "Read Marx. Uncover the roots of the problem."

• Seligman, in a book devoted to an attempt to explain the Marxian philosophy of history (**The Economic Interpretation of History,** Columbia University Press, 1902), concluded that while he had his doubts that it fully explained human progress, yet "we must all recognize the beneficent influence that it has exerted in stimulating the thoughts of scholars and in broadening the concepts and the ideals of history and economics alike."

• Small, writing on the nature of socialism in the **American Journal of Sociology** (May, 1912) stated his theme in one italicized sentence: **"Socialism has been the most wholesome ferment in modern society."** Of Marx himself, this outstanding and pioneering American sociologist wrote that he "was one of the few really great thinkers." He went on to write that "intellectual nonentities" and mediocrities and conformists might "conspire to smother his influence by all the means known to obscurantism," but that, so powerful was his analysis, they had not, and never would, fully succeed. This founder of the first American Dept. of Sociology concluded: "Marx will have a place in social science analogous with that of Galileo in physical science . . . ."

• Finally, Beard, writing in **The American Historical Review** (October, 1935) wished to "freely pay tribute to the amazing range of Marx's scholarship and the penetrating character of his thought . . . his wide and deep knowledge and fearless and sacrificial life."

I HAVE NOT, of course, called to the witness stand six leading American scholars in order to vindicate Marxism. I have brought forward the testimony of these giants as tending to show the crippling effect of the present all-but-complete prohibition of the study of Marxism which afflicts our educational system. I have brought it forward, too, in order to vindicate the right of schools and scholars to teach the Marxist world-outlook, and the right, indeed, the duty of all, especially the youth, to study that outlook.

It is not only Marxists, then, who should insist on the necessity of teaching and studying the ideas of Marx—and doing that fully and fairly. For those ideas, as the **Columbia Encyclopedia** says, "have exerted an incalculable influence on the modern world." All who value scientific inquiry must resist today the suppression of Marxism which lies at the root of the campaign of intellectual intimidation that everywhere in our country is stifling creative effort and feeding the danger of fascism.

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THREE NEW NOVELS ON THE SPRING LISTS

Atom war, shipyard life, and a fish story

Three works of fiction picked from among this spring's entries may prove welcome alternatives to current best-sellers like Lolita *and* Dr.You-Know-Who.

ALAS, BABYLON.*"And the kings of the earth . . . shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,/Standing far off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come."—Revelation 18:9-10.

The Babylon of this book is us, the burning, nuclear; and the one hour is cut to an instant TOT (Time on Target) attack, in which missile launchings are so timed that all targets will be hit at the same moment. The Biblical allusion is also a "panic-button" password between two brothers. One is a colonel at Offutt Field, headquarters of the Strategic Air Command near Omaha, and our main switchboard for pushbutton war. The other is a liberal but lazing lawyer-bachelor in Fort Repose, Fla.

When portents at Offutt Field indicate that the touch-off of nuclear war may be momentary, the brother in Fort Repose gets a fateful wire: " . . . Alas, Babylon."

What touches it off?

A NAVY ENSIGN, flying off the flat-top **Saratoga** in the Mediterranean, chases a "snooper" back toward a "Red" base in Syria (which shows how history can out-pace even the fastest-breaking nuclear fiction these days!). Under orders to "Go get him," the ensign fires a Sidewinder missile. Instead of going for its target, the Sidewinder plunges into the dock area of Latakia harbor, blowing up most of the Syrian port.

There is an ominous day's silence. Neither diplomats nor news agencies can get through to Moscow. Navy and Defense, after the usual delays, finally get together on a statement that the occurrence was "a regrettable mechanical error," but it comes too late. NORAD (North American Air Defense) reports: "Object, may be missile, fired from Soviet base, Amadyr Peninsula." DEW Line catches four objects on its Arctic screen. Others are spotted from Presque Isle and Homestead.

Babylon has 15 minutes to retaliate, and duck.

THE REST of what happens to the outside world is covered thereafter from Fort Repose by battery-radio. The first voice of authority to be heard is "the Radcliffe-Boston broad-A" of Mrs. Josephine Vanbruuker-Brown, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare:

"The fact that I speak to you as the chief executive of the nation must tell you much . . . This country, and our allies in the free world . . . attacked without warning . . . cities . . . destroyed . . . contaminated . . . toll of innocent lives . . . New and darker day of infamy . . .

"Our reprisal was swift . . . The enemy has received terrible punishment . . . The battle goes on. Our reprisals continue . . . unlimited national emergency . . . martial law . . . moratorium on debts . . . taxes . . .

"Do not panic . . ."

The war is a matter of days, but Fort Repose's isolation lasts a year. Early in the going, the central Civil Defense frequency, broadcasting once a day "circumstances permitting," reports the extent of devastation and contamination. Nowhere is spared. Washington, D.C., London, Paris, Rome, Moscow, too—all knocked out. Later, before the lone communications radio blows a tube, Fort Repose hears of Big Three discussion for world relief. The Big Three are India, Japan and China.

IN ISOLATED Fort Repose, a new order takes over. Money value is an early casualty, along with electricity. Race prejudice takes longer to go, but it goes. The lone doctor is allotted the gasoline supply. Bikes, skiffs, sail boats come into their own. Fish, eggs, armadillo are the proteins. Oranges are plentiful but a fifth of 12-year-old Scotch can't buy two pounds of coffee. Bread is a forgotten luxury, except for corn pone. **A Swiss Family Robinson** sort of cooperation becomes the way of life.

When finally a helicopter lands (after testing for contamination) there is room for one couple to fly out, but there are no takers. As for who won the war, there is one answer at the end of the book, but a better one at the start:

"The only way a general can win a modern war is not to fight one."

Alas, Babylon ought to be on every school and public library shelf in America, in a hurry, with perhaps a comic-book edition for the Pentagon.

BRIGHT WEB IN THE DARKNESS** is a working-class novel written in the smooth, intimate, conversational, descriptive style of the better slick-magazine writers. The author, Alexander Saxton, writes for the slicks and has also written other novels, notably **The Great Midland** (1948). The 1948 novel covered a period of 30 years (1912-1942) against a backdrop of Chicago's sprawling railroad yards. Union struggles, the battle against race discrimination in the union and on the job, the back-of-the-yards fight for existence, were crisscrossed with the probing, radicalizing university life of Depression Chicago; the war in Spain, and finally the beginnings of World War II. The Communist Party played a vital role in **The Great Midland**, as indeed it did in most of the struggles on which the novel was based.

Bright Web in the Darkness moves to San Francisco and a new set of working-class struggles in the shipyards of World War II. Again the principal theme is the fight for Negro equality on the job and in the unions. By this time there are the Wagner Act and Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices edict in war industry. The struggle becomes one of legalisms as well as raw and bitter on-the-job and inner-union conflict. As in **The Great Midland**, a large and varied cast of characters are involved in expert interplay, but perhaps none is as well-delineated as were the memorable people of **The Great Midland**.

This may be because none of the characters in the new novel seem to be motivated by any underlying philosophy other than the basic good in working people, backed by the strength and probity of Dr. Win-the-War in the White House. The Communist Party, for example, is never on the scene in the novel, although it indubitably was during the struggles the book describes. For the author to fail to countenance this is disappointing; it is as if the cook were trying to put us on a salt-free diet, retroactive.

THE WOMAN AND THE WHALE*** is a fish story with a class angle—one which no less a literary epicure than Mark Van Doren has found "full of excitement and joy." As a good fish story should be, this one is a comedy—about the Spanish fisherfolk of an island in Generalissimo Franco's domain, but so tiny and remote that not even the tax collector bothers with it.

The folks fish for a rich grandee who lives in a big house on a hill, and who doesn't pay enough to enable the island families to afford oranges and other things essential to their children's health. The resourceful woman of the title, unable to get her husband or the other men into the fight for more pay, organizes a **Lysistrata** compact among the women of the island. It works.

The islanders go into action and win all the encounters, including putting to flight a Franco navy patrol which ventures in. But at the end there is still some argument among the die-hard men as to whether the credit should go to the woman leader or to a whale which got stranded on the beach at the start of the altercation and remained there, lifeless and stenching, until the grandee and his equipage had to flee, leaving the islanders to manage their own destinies—and to dispose of the whale.

—**John T. McManus**

*ALAS, BABYLON, *by Pat Frank. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 254 pp. $3.50.*

**BRIGHT WEB IN THE DARKNESS, *by Alexander Saxton. St. Martin's Press Inc., 103 Park Av., N. Y. 17. 308 pp. $3.95.*

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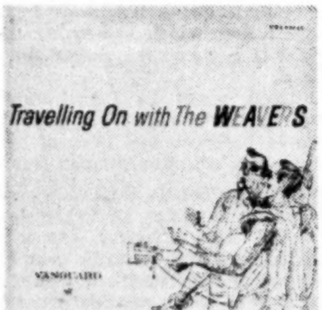

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See p. 18

THE BEGINNING OF AN ANSWER TO AN OLD QUESTION

The Negro writer in U. S. is finding his way

By Louis E. Burnham

PERHAPS NOTHING in all of American experience lends itself more compellingly to revelation in great art than the situation of the Negro. From his toil and literally out of his life's blood the nation accumulated the initial capital which became the economic keystone of a vigorous and expanding social structure. As the edifice has grown—at once massive and complex, amazingly beautiful and frighteningly ugly—the Negro has remained, in a sense, where he began: at the base—underfoot.

How, then, should American literature deal with these people, crushed for centuries beneath an insufferable weight of exploitation, calumny and derision, yet always rising, their presence and their struggles ever mocking the strident pretensions of the nation?

Why, on the one hand, ignore them, of course! And so, many of America's leading writers did, and do.

ANOTHER GENRE of American writing has dealt with the Negro quite fulsomely, only to malign him. The Lothrop Stoddard-Thomas Dixon school of literature (**The Rising Tide of Color, The Leopard's Spots, The Klansman**) are too painfully familiar to need analysis here. But it should be remembered that these turn-of-the-century works were vastly popular and remain the prototypes for much that is being written today.

Some American writers have always risen to challenge the popular misconceptions and tyrannies of their times, in this field as in others. Surely part of the measure of Thoreau, Whittier, Longfellow, Twain and Whitman must be that they sought, in poetry and prose, to affirm the Negro's humanity in the face of his garrulous detractors.

But even the finest of these wrote, not from the Negro's point of view; and frequently they wrote as much out of pity as of love. The result, then, is that at the hands of white writers the Negro has been treated either not at all or, at worst, with the meanest of hate or, at best, with something of condescension. What exceptions there are (and happily they are increasing) are still few enough in the total body of American literature to prove the rule.

In these circumstances, what is the Negro writer to do? Ever since Negroes began seriously to use writing as an art they have asked themselves this question. At first, indeed, the question did not need to be asked. Their art would be a sword placed at the disposal of their hard-pressed brethren. In the early days of freedom Charles Waddell Chestnut emerged as an outstanding novelist dealing with problems of caste and color.

WORLD WAR I and the mass migrations which accompanied it provided a base of urban experience for the "new Negro renaissance" writing of the Twenties and early Thirties. The hallmark of this period was freedom for the writer to explore, according to his particular inclination and talent, the meaning of his personal existence and his relationship to his people.

Out of this exploration a strong body and discernible tradition of Negro writing began to take shape in many forms, but especially in poetry. Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Gwendolyn Bennett, Jean Toomer, Sterling Brown, Arna Bontemps and others turned for their inspiration to Africa, to the rhythm of the American Negro's dance, music and speech, to the little cares and major crises of black men and women whom Hughes decribes as "the folks with no titles in front of their names."

The Great Depression and the movement for workers' literature which rose from it added new dimensions to Negro writing. It tempered the "exotic" quality which characterized some of the literary treatment of the Negro during the Twenties. It reinforced an abstract, nostalgic yearning for the Negro's African beginnings with a live concern for current developments among living Africans. Through the WPA writer's project it enabled Negro and white authors to share experiences, thus expanding the vision and scope of both.

NEGRO WRITING of this perod reached its flowering with the publication of two books by Richard Wright. **Uncle Tom's Children** in 1936 contained four novellas which gave promise of the remarkable talent to be revealed two years later in **Native Son.** This book deservedly became an American classic and set new standards for fictional treatment of the lives and problems of Negroes.

FRANK LONDON BROWN
A quality of pertinence and immediacy

World War II and the post-war McCarthy period were not a congenial time for the artistic assessment of man's fate, by Negro or white writers. But now there are stirrings on the cultural scene which seem to augur well for a new blossoming of fine literature by Negro authors. The great struggles of Negroes for dignity and equality in Little Rock and Montgomery, the altered relationships between Negroes and whites resulting from the continuing northward migration, the changes in class and social relationships among Negroes themselves, the revolutionary upheavals in Africa—all these developments in real life impel the Negro writer to a new level of creativity.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, a quick look at the recent output of a handful of Negro authors, veterans and newcomers, may help to indicate some of the possibilities and problems.

The Book of Negro Folklore, edited by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, is a monumental reminder of the unique contribution which Negroes have made to American culture at the folk level. The slave had little recourse to written communication, but he had a powerful need to express himself about nature, cruel masters, work, play and worship, and the follies and travail of his kinsmen.

He did this first of all in animal stories which projected his personal experiences and aspirations. Brer Rabbit was such a popular figure because by guile, skill and quick thinking and nimble footwork he could "outfox" many a more powerful and predatory beast.

Wit, wisdom and humor are the hallmarks of this folklore. The book abounds in such sardonic commentaries on family life as: "Little fishes in the brook; /Willie catch 'em with a hook/Mama fry 'em in a pan/ Papa eats 'em like a man." Preacher tales, work songs, sermons, blues, spirituals, prayers and prison songs—all sprang from the folk and all are included here. There is also a fine sampling of the more sophisticated folksy creations of such artists as Hughes and Alice Childress. The book is indispensible for anyone interested in the roots and character of the Negro "flavor" in American cultural life.

SELECTED POEMS by Langston Hughes is a volume of equal interest. Hughes culls from his enormous output the poems he considers most representative. The selection extends from "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," first published in **Crisis** magazine in 1921 and dedicated to its founder and editor, W. E. B. DuBois, to some of the author's most recent poems written to jazz rhythms.

Hughes catches the beauty and the pathos in the ordinary events which mark the lives of the poor and which are usually regarded as unworthy of the attention of more precious poets. He is never maudlin but often tender. He loves Harlem, a "dusky sash across Manhattan." Whether writing of pimps or madams, shoe shine boys, drunks, cabaret dancers, porters, elevator operators, domestics, foundry works or students, Hughes writes with an unambiguous love for his people and for life. He may truly be called one of the few important popular poets of our time. Some of the fragments seem too slight to be included in a collection of his best works, but the book on the whole is a delight.

RICHARD WRIGHT'S **The Long Dream** is another story. It is almost a nightmare of a book. Wright depicts the painful and sordid maturation of Fishbelly Tucker, a Negro boy in a small Mississippi town. Because his theme is that the jimcrow system degrades and dehumanizes Negroes (plausible enough), his characters perform almost no acts except those which reveal and symbolize their degradation (highly implausible).

The story, therefore, even though one may be unable to dispute the authenticity of any of its principal happenings, becomes more allegorical than realistic. Scattered throughout the books are occasional flashes of the extraordinary writing of which Wright is capable, but the book is a far cry from his earlier successes.

Mississippi has left its stamp on Richard Wright—a mark so deep he probably will never be free of it. But this book is so completely obsessed with the impingement of race and color on the lives of his characters that they emerge as unreal, one-dimensional people. Violence and depravity follow each other so implacably and in such quick succession that the reader is left numbed rather than stimulated.

Fifteen years in Paris seem more than Richard Wright can afford if he expects to treat the lives of Southern Negroes in effective artistic terms.

TWO YOUNGER WRITERS are typical of another approach to Negro material. How effective they will be in the long run remains to be seen, but they have made important beginnings. Julian Mayfield in **The Long Night** has written a second short novel about a limited aspect of Harlem life. It is a compassionate story of the ordeal of a little boy, Steely Brown, who looses the $27 he collects for his mother as her winnings in the numbers game.

In telling the story of how Steely tries to replace the lost winnings, Mayfield reveals something of the domestic problems of the Brown family, gang life among New York youth, the poverty, frustrations and hopes of people trapped in an urban jimcrow jungle. His writing is crisp and straightforward. Sometimes it carries the finest advantage of simplicity—the enlightening impact of a plainly stated fact. But at times it leans to the wrong side of the thin line that divides the beauty of simplicity from simple banality.

After two books of a kind (he wrote **The Hit** in 1957), the reader is left with the desire to see Mayfield try his hand on a larger canvass. Certainly he knows his people, has a firm grasp of plot and a sure feeing for the sights, sounds and smells of the community. But one cannot escape the feeling that the subject deserves a greater breadth of conception and boldness of writing than the author gives them in the two admirable books he has written.

FRANK LONDON BROWN, in **Trumbull Park,** writes at much greater length and about a more explosive subject. The story is a fictionalized treatment of the real events that took place when Negro families moved into the lily-white Trumball Park housing project in Chicago.

Narrated by one of the participants, Louis "Buggy" Martin, the story takes the reader with the Martin family through the jeering lines of white mobs, under the eyes of police who fail to protect them, into their new apartment where they live under seige, out again, and, despite vacillation, fear and inner turmoil, to a new level of dignity and purpose won through struggle.

JULIAN MAYFIELD
A compassionate story . . . simply told

Because the author is faithful to Buggy's speech and manner, both narration and dialogue are written in the racy, lively argot of the Northern Negro ghetto. This gives the writing a quality of pertinence and immediacy which are refreshing. It also, however, poses problems which the author has not fully overcome in this first work. The main problem is to decide which ideas can easily be accommodated in the idiomatic short-hand of Negro urban speech, and which ones need more involved, traditional usage. Because Brown's writing stays on one level throughout, so does the action and the ideation of the novel. Despite this the reading is exciting and the books is a splendid beginning for a promising author.

Whatever their failings—and in the search these are bound to come—it is more and more apparent that the young Negro author today is beginning to phrase a clear reply to the question of what he is going to do to translate the material and the meaning of his people's experience into living literature.

Books discussed in this article

THE BOOK OF NEGRO FOLKLORE, edited by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps. Dodd, Mead and Company, N.Y. 624 pp. $6.50.

SELECTED POEMS OF LANGSTON HUGHES. Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y. 298 pp. $5.00.

THE LONG DREAM, by Richard Wright. Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y. 384 pp. $3.95.

THE LONG NIGHT, by Julian Mayfield. Vanguard, N.Y. 166 pp. $3.50.

TRUMBULL PARK, by Frank London Brown. Henry Regnery, 64 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. 432 pp. $3.95.

UP FROM NED BUNTLINE

The paperback trade and how it is growing

By Angus Cameron

NED BUNTLINE, King of the Dime Novelists (who mixed publishing with promoting Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show), was in his way the advance man for the greatest show on earth in the book field, the new rise of the American paperback.

No one recalls Ned Buntline's exact circulation figures; his gory output probably ran into some millions. But compared to Ned's last-century venture, paperbacks today are a multi-millionaire enterprise. In 1956 someone estimated paperback sales would run to 400,000,000. In 1958 someone else estimated that newsstands alone sold 350,000,000. The paperback is a stock in trade in virtually every candy store, drugstore and a good many supermarkets in America. In New York there are big bookstores which sell

nothing else but.

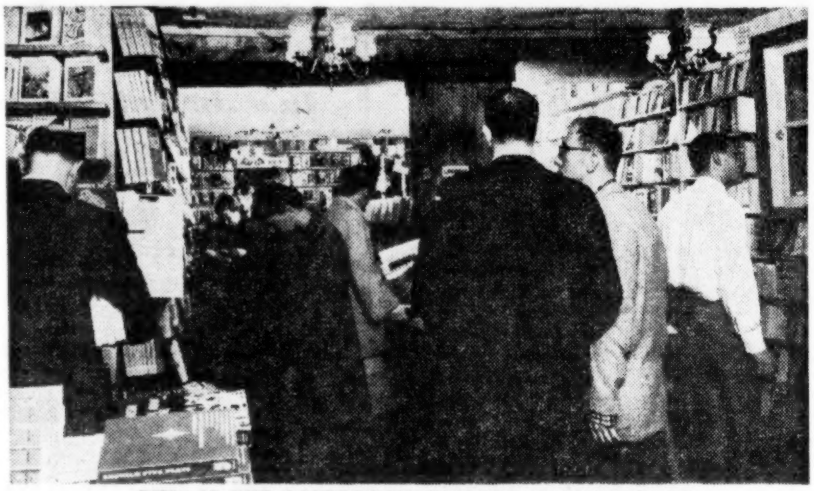
Despite its Revolutionary ancestry, (Tom Paine's pamphlets, for example) and notable 20th Century ventures such as the Haldeman-Julius Little Blue Books, the paperback book business as we know it today has all sprung up in less than 25 years.

Angus Cameron is co-editor with Carl A. Marzani of Cameron Associates, Inc., Liberty Book Club and the new Prometheus paperbacks.

JUST BEFORE World War II a progressive publisher, Modern Age Books, began to issue serious reprints and some original publishing in paper. This venture, which rose and fell in the Thirties, had the right feeling about coming American tastes, but did not survive its own originality.

Taking a leaf from Modern Age's failure, Pocket Books, founded in 1939, became the first paperbook publisher to launch a modern and successful list. Pocket Books' idea was to publish reprints of books which had already shown their popularity in a hardback edition. Their rise was swift and astonishing. Concentrating almost exclusively on light fiction, adventure novels, mysteries and Westerns, gaudily covered in sensational and sexy art, Pocket Books suddenly created and virtually monopolized a huge market, offering 25c, uncut, paperbound editions of previously successful hardbacked fiction and finding a huge market which would make possible the huge printings necessary to such a low price. Pocket Books sold a million and a half copies of 34 titles in their first year. When World War II came on, others had entered the field and were sharing Pocket Books' rich harvest.

Although Pocket Books had shown the way, the vast surge to enormous volume sales of paperback books was unquestionably given a strong assist by the work of the book section of the O.W.I. during World War II. In collaboration with the commercial publishers, the Army launched the Armed Services editions, again mostly, but not entirely, fiction, and literally millions of copies of these books were read, in home camps and abroad, by the men and women in the services.



THIS IS THE PAPERBOOK GALLERY IN MANHATTAN
The only hardcover there is "Lady Chatterley's Lover"

WHEN THEY RETURNED to civilian life they not only swelled the sales of the paperback publishers which already existed—Pocket Books, Avon, Popular Library et al—but gave rise to new houses like Bantam Books, founded by Grossett and Dunlap in partnership with four publishers and the Book of the Month Club, and with Curtis Publishing Co. whose vast distribution facilities were employed.

Shortly after the war these 25c books, mostly light or adventure fiction, had increased the modest outlets of bookstores, always terribly limiting on book distribution, by flooding their gaudily dressed up titles into drug stores, chain stores, gift shops, indeed into a bewildering variety of newfound retail outlets.

The old-line hardbacked publishers found themselves in a dilemma. They felt strongly on the one hand that a spread of paperback books was a threat to their higher price hardback offerings. On the other hand, the additional income which came their way from selling paperback rights to their already market-tested hardbacked books was too great a temptation to resist. By 1950, many old-line publishers were consulting paperback editors about which kinds of manuscripts to publish.

THEN PENGUIN BOOKS, a British publisher of serious works, classics, books of sciences, archaeology, economics, etc., opened a U.S. subsidiary.

Penguin quietly moved into the preserves of American publishing and built up a very considerable sale in paper for a different kind of book—classics, serious non-fiction of all kinds. Books of literary and scholarly distinction were seen to have a sale here too.

A thoughtful former member of Penguin's staff launched the first modern paperbook publishing house here, the New American Library (Signet Books). Signet took an editorial leaf from the notebook of Penguin as to subject matter, and from Pocket Books, Bantam, and others for colorful jacket art and promotion techniques. Each of the new paperback houses connected with one of the big magazine publishers and distributors, or with one of the book jobbers.

In 1954 Anchor Books, a subsidiary of Doubleday, launched the first list devoted entirely to highbrow titles. In the five years since, Anchor, soon joined by many other "serious" paperback publishers, has sold a total of five million copies, a million of this total in 1958.

AMONG THE NEW paperback publishers of serious works are to be found 14 university presses. Serious and light, the paperbounds now pour out from a total of 90 publishers until the books in print (listed in **Paperbound Books in Print**, issued twice a year at $2 by R. R. Bowker Co., 62 W. 45th St., N.Y. 36) now total more than 6,000 individual titles, including both originals and reprints.

The number of retail outlets handling books has leaped to well over 100,000 and they are discovering that they can sell not only the mass-interest fiction titles in quantity (mass titles are usually printed in editions of 150,000 or more), but that even such "intellectually demanding" titles as Prof. Riesman's **The Lonely Crowd** can now top a quarter-million.

This unprecedented revival of paperbooks cuts across the whole spectrum of taste and quality. On the one hand the new low-price distribution has lifted Mickey Spillane's six titles to places among the ten all-time American best sellers; on the other a book like Ruth Benedict's **Patterns of Culture** has sold almost a million copies. The paperbook is here to stay. Some publishers believe that the traditional hardbacked book will soon be published chiefly for the use of libraries and institutions, that the face of books of the future will be chiefly paper.

IMPACT OF CHINA

New booklets and pamphlets

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD AGAIN takes its title from **Time** correspondent Jack Belden's book on China's revolution. It covers four first-hand articles on China today collected by the editors of **Monthly Review,** 66 Barrow St. New York City 14. Articles are **China's Communes,** by Prof. S. D. Kosambi, Indian statistician, archaeologist and historian; **China's Economic Growth,** by Prof. Charles Bettelheim of the Sorbonne's Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes; **Chinese Agriculture,** by Rene Dumont of the Paris Agronomic Institute; and **Turning Labor Into Capital,** by Indian economist K. S. Gill. An editorial on the communes by **Monthly Review** editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezey sums up. Price $1.

REVOLUTION IN IRAQ, prepared by a special committee of the Society of Graduates of American Universities in Iraq. "Proud of our new Republic," the authors set out to correct news reports in the U.S. press before and since the outbreak of the revolution, July 14, 1958; then to discuss Iraq's economic and political background and its revolutionary aims and achievements. Its 32 pages are illustrated, contain helpful tables and a bibliography. Price 25c from Dr. Abdul F. Naji, 160 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

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'LOYALTY AND SECURITY'

The book that didn't get reviewed

A Yale Law School alumnus, A. L. Colloms learned of the publication of Loyalty and Security *through a communication from Yale University Press noting that, although the book was published in early 1958 and review copies sent to all major newspapers and magazines, no reviews had appeared. He informed the GUARDIAN of this; we wrote for and received a review copy, and asked Colloms to review it.*

An anecdote about Colloms, a veteran of a dozen years representing clients in loyalty-security cases, puts the conformity question in a nutshell.

Appearing before the Third Assistant Postmaster General just before the 1952 election, Colloms stated: "Today my client is called names because he is a nonconformist. It may be that, day after tomorrow, if the Republicans win the election, you, too, will be read out of government because you don't conform. Bear that in mind, sir!"

Colloms' client was reinstated, but sure as shooting, the Third Assistant Postmaster General was ousted in favor of a conforming Republican.

THESE ARE DAYS when most college professors, like proverbial ostriches, hide their heads in the sand to escape their economic enemies. These are days, too, when state attorneys-general issue blasts against the courts they are pledged to serve; when lesser judges condemn the Supreme Court for its defense of constitutional liberties; when the American Bar Assn. suggests laws to override Supreme Court decisions and praises the most reactionary committees of Congress since Alien & Sedition days.

Within this framework, we find precious few "respectable" college professors writing books in criticism of hysterical actions forced upon complacent government. Yet in **Loyalty and Security***, a study of employment tests in the U.S., Prof. Ralph S. Brown Jr. of Yale Law School has done just that.

FOR THOSE who have no intimate acquaintance with loyalty and security testing as now practiced not only in government, but in civilian employment areas, armed services, maritime employment, all types of state, municipal and local government employment as well as for professional qualification, this book is an eye-opener.

Brown calculates that some 18,000,000 persons are affected by the program. (I believe this figure is much too low if we include the Army Reserve program, which touches not only reservists but their friends, families and associates.) In 1955 the government spent $37,400,000 for tests, a figure Brown himself believes conservative.

The author reviews the questionnaires, oaths, tests and hearings which constitute the program but places his emphasis not on the substance (although the book is well illuminated with the horrors perpetrated in the name of "national security") but rather on the impact of the program on the population.

HE DISCUSSES the harmful effect on the educational system, industry and scientific development; appraises the socio-economic import, and weighs the value, efficacy and presumed need against the dangers inherent in this kind of testing.

Prof. Brown finds that the tests miss their mark: They do not find disloyals or security risks—those dedicated to disloyalty "are too wily in the art of deceit." This statement discloses the weak spot in Brown's analysis. He assumes that there is a "universal" risk to U.S. security and speaks of a "death struggle" between Communists and our system of government in which the Communists seek to gain control "peacefully if possible," but ultimately by any means, including force and violence.

This leads him to the view that there is a need for some sort of testing, but that any security tests "should be primarily concerned with the risk to national security created by having a particular person in a particular job." I am unable to join Prof. Brown in an assumption for which ten years of Smith Act prosecutions have failed to establish proof, namely that Communists are part of a conspiracy to subvert the national security.

INDEED, IN SPITE of Brown's view that there may be need for some testing, he finds himself hard-pressed to justify this need. He frankly concedes that loyalty testing is a "part of politics," as he sees it, to keep our form of government in control. Yet, since security testing must also inquire into political thinking and belief, and searches for those who "are or may become" Communists, this *per se* is bad. Thus he comes to the conclusion that the built-in damages of the loyalty and security program are greater than the threats posed by alleged security risks.

Programs starting "in good faith and on a narrow front have widened to include people who share with Communists any preference that to some influential groups seem disloyal." Any definition of loyalty is hard to manage, he argues, because it rests to a large extent on examination of beliefs. This involves examination of mental processes and thus is in the realm of ideas and philosophies rather than of concrete acts. Prof. Brown dislikes such incursions.

Despite my disagreements with Prof. Brown, the fact that the conservative press has refused thus far to review his book indicates an effort to keep it from general circulation. I certainly recommend it for the attention of all interested in the workings of our body-politic, and especially as required reading for our newspaper reviewers, who can and do recommend books supporting the government's cold war positions, but refuse to pass judgment on one which implies subversion from the Right.

—Albert Colloms

**LOYALTY AND SECURITY, by Ralph S. Brown, Jr. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 524 pp. $6.*

JOIN THE GUARDIAN SUB CAMPAIGN, SEE P. 18

In a time of change and re-evaluation ...

LEST WE FORGET

THE quickening pace of events brings new issues, new ideas, new faces to the forefront of the world scene Some of these, in turn, bring new challenges to America's traditional leadership.

Inspired by those challenges, signs of a healthy new spirit of self-evaluation have become evident in our country. Some old ideas about science, about education, about government, about democracy have been yielding place to new.

****

IN the area of civil liberties too, while much remains to be improved, a new spirit of awareness has gradually become manifest. Attempts at oppression still occur, but they are vigorously fought and often defeated. The Supreme Court is defamed for its broad construction of our inherent liberties, but the defamers are soundly rebuked.

As far back as May 1, 1954, President Eisenhower, after hearing high officials of the previous Democratic Administration attacked by his own party colleagues as "subversive," said this:

"Here in America we are descended in blood and spirit from revolutionists and rebels—men and women who dare to dissent from accepted doctrine. As their heirs, we may never confuse honest dissent with disloyal subversion . . . If we allow ourselves to be persuaded that every individual or party that takes issue with our own convictions is necessarily wicked or treasonous, then, indeed, we are approaching the end of freedom's road."

****

IT is in the sturdy reaffirmation of this basic American creed, we believe, that any citizen, any Government official, serves his country best. The more so these days when the challenge on all sides grows sharper, and the retention of our traditional status depends largely on the soundness of our own democracy and our ability to implement it.

Toward that end, as noted, some progress has been made. But one specific case, at least, has been overlooked. Our situation involving civil liberties remains uncorrected, and its victims unrelieved. The facts deserve to be better known.

****

JOHN and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, editors of the American-owned CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW issued in Shanghai from 1917 to 1953, published dissenting reports and opinions on American conduct of the Korean action. Upon their return home they were subjected to the inquisitorial procedures of an ugly and regrettable era—the early Nineteen Fifties.

When they declined to "cooperate" with this process, the inquisitors demanded their prosecution. And in April, 1956, they were indicted on charges of "sedition" based on what they had believed, written and published.

SINCE that time some new ideas, new methods and new faces, many of them unconnected with the excesses of the past, have made their appearance in the legislative and executive areas of our Government. But the prosecution of the Powells and Schuman lingers on . . . In January of this year their "sedition" indictment resulted in a mistrial. But instead of a withdrawal of the prosecution, additional charges alleging "treason" were filed—charges on which a Grand Jury, after repeated consideration, has failed to find an indictment.

And still the prosecution lingers on; and the defendants, like characters in a Kafka fantasy, continue to live under its undefined, inconclusive shadow.

****

WE who recall these events believe, as the President has enunciated, that Americans conscious of their tradition "may never confuse honest dissent with disloyal subversion." And we believe in the finding of the American civil Liberties Union of Northern California that the Powell-Schuman "sedition" prosecution, if not withdrawn, poses "a serious threat to fundamental liberties, particularly freedom of the press and fair trial."

We feel confident, too, that many people now soberly concerned with the maintenance of America's long-standing place among nations, as we face grave problems ahead, will welcome the suggestion that this action be terminated. For we cannot believe it consistent with American tradition to prosecute citizens for their beliefs, writings or dissents.

A signal opportunity lies before us to ratify our belief in our known principles, and thus set an example to the entire world.

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SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S LIFE

The rebel crusader

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian* deals with one of the greatest social revolutions of all human history (not yet fully completed): the freeing of an entire half of the human race from bondage which had existed down the ages. It tells the story of the woman who, with one or two others, led—indeed, almost created—that revolution in the United States; one of the really great figures in American history (who would be far better known if women wrote the history books).

At the beginning of Susan B. Anthony's life in 1820 not a single college or even a free public high school was open to girls. In most states men could legally beat their wives with "a reasonable instrument," which one judge defined as a stick no thicker than his thumb.

Everything a woman owned became her husband's upon marriage, as did everything she earned or inherited thereafter, so that a wife got not a single penny to do anything unless her husband permitted it. The children she bore belonged to him, to give away, or will away after his death. Only a few underpaid occupations and no professions were open to her. A woman was "immoral" if she spoke in public (Lucy Stone was expelled from church) and "unwomanly" even to write for publications. She could join no organization except the church sewing circle and the church (without voting rights therein).

Florence Luscomb marched in woman suffrage parades as a teen-ager and, at 73, led last year's Walk for Peace contingent from New Haven to New York. She lives in Cambridge, was a leader of the '48 Progressive campaign.

WHEN SUSAN ANTHONY died 86 years later, the women of America had all educational opportunities; practically all professions and occupations were open to them; they were speaking, writing, organizing, agitating freely, had obtained widespread repeal of discriminations in marriage; were fully voting citizens in four states and partial voters in numerous others. The equal suffrage movement was powerfully organized throughout the entire land (and would be victorious only 14 years later) and an International Woman Suffrage Alliance was carrying the woman's movement around the world.

Susan Anthony started her career in the momentous times of the anti-slavery crusade, and the pages of this book are peopled by William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Henry Ward Beecher, Lucretia Mott and other great Americans.

At a time when advocates of abolition and women's rights were outcasts—derided, denounced, mobbed—it required indomitable courage to set forth utterly alone, to spend months canvassing town after town with petitions, engage (if permitted) a meeting hall, tack up announcements, and make the speech.

IT IS NOT STRANGE that her single-minded zeal led her, in the course of her long career, into some grave mistakes. The only unsatisfactory part of this present book is its one-sided and obscure explanation of the founding of the two national suffrage organizations in 1870, the other led by Lucy Stone. It hints personal animus and does not bring out with sufficient clarity the three basic policy differences over which Susan Anthony and her old fellow-workers in the abolition and woman's rights movements split.

MEETING OF THE NATL. WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSN.—1884

A drawing from Harper's Weekly, reproduced in "Third Parties in American Politics" by Howard P. Nash. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. $6.

This book gives no inkling that the overwhelming majority of state suffrage associations affiliated with Lucy Stone's organization rather than Susan Anthony's. Nevertheless, when 20 years later these issues had passed into history, Susan Anthony became the active leader of the happily reunited movement. To get a balanced picture of the women's movement one must also read the fascinating biography, **Lucy Stone**, Pioneer of Woman's Rights, completed in 1930 by her daughter Alice Stone Blackwell.

BIOGRAPHER ALMA LUTZ's life of Susan Anthony is the record of an incredible lifetime of organizing genius and inspired, sacrificial toil.

She was a convicted criminal for casting a vote to test the 14th Amendment, and she refused to pay her fine. She met defeat after defeat unshaken; victories came slowly and, so far as equal suffrage was concerned, were few. Yet, the last, triumphant battle cry of this dauntless 86-year-old woman, the final words of her last public speech were, "Failure is impossible!"

The story of Susan B. Anthony's career has a message for all advocates of world peace today. For it spells out the price that has to be paid for every great forward step of humanity. We cannot hope to win peace until we too are willing to pioneer bold new ideas, to work and sacrifice, dare and endure beyond measure.

—Florence Luscomb

**SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian, by Alma Lutz. Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 310 pp. plus 30 pp. notes & index. Illustrated. $5.75.*

VOICES OF THE TIMES

on

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OLIVER COX'S 'FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM'

A challenging analysis of our society

FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM* undertakes no less than to interpret "the origin and development of the social and economic organization of the capitalist system." The analysis begins with Venice, "The Progenitor" of the system—in the period following the fall of Rome—and it extends "up to the point at which all its essential elements had come into being and fully into operation" in England by the period of the industrial revolution.

Although the approach is chiefly historical, this is far more than an economic history; it is a socio-economic analysis, directed toward identifying and assessing recurring patterns of societal behavior. And although the formal analysis does not reach the 20th Century, one finds here more than a few discerning comments on the ideas and developments of today—even some choice strictures on the allegedly socialist British Labor Party.

This work does not purport to be theoretical. "In a future study," the author tells us, "I shall hope to analyze the theoretical aspects of the social processes in the [capitalist] system." Even so, much of the discussion is highly theoretical—especially in the chapters on mercantilism and on the industrial revolution, which comprise more than one-third of the whole. Moreover, the treatment is quite polemical, with many caustic barbs directed at the classical economists and other targets.

A BIG BOOK of 500 pages and 23 chapters, it includes a preface, a foreword by Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, an introduction, very extensive chapter notes, and a 16-page listing of works cited in the text. Its author, Oliver Cromwell Cox, is professor of sociology at Lincoln University, Mo., and is the author also of **Caste, Class & Race**, a notable study of present-day barriers among groups in our society, and how they came about. [Originally published by Doubleday in 1948, **Caste, Class & Race** has just been issued in a new edition by Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. Price, $7.50—Ed.]

Dr. Wilkerson is an educator who has taught at several colleges and universities. He was a director of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Signalman's Journal, Chicago

"Binks, your suggestion saves us 5,000 man-hours a year! It even eliminates your job, too . . . Sorry to see you go!"

IMPLICIT in Prof. Cox's new book and at a few points explicit, is the premise that the capitalist system belongs to a particular historical epoch and will be supplanted on a world scale by socialism, a thesis which Marxist students will readily applaud. But in his analysis of capitalism's origin and development, especially as regards the place of the industrial revolution, Dr. Cox definitely parts company with some time-honored Marxist teachings.

For example, the author contends that the origin of capitalism cannot be made "to depend pivotally upon a new 'mode' of production," such as the industrial revolution. Rather, "the industrial revolution acted as an accelerator of capitalist process and not as a prime mover"; it "did not involve a categorical change in capitalist production . . ."

Further: "Given an effective societal organization, then, leadership in technology became the basis of leadership in the capitalist world. . . . But is it justified to speak of this relationship as 'industrial capitalism,' meaning a system so different in kind that it may be thought of as superseding a previous form of social organization? We hardly think so."

STILL FURTHER, " . . . England's outstanding contributions to the development of capitalist society [are] its successful formation of a stable capitalist nation and its employment of technological inventions as a fundamental means of manufacture. These have been so far-reaching in their augmentation of power and speed of capitalist action that they **seem** almost to have been qualitative additions to the previously established societal traits of capitalism. And yet, for an understanding of the nature of capitalist society it is constantly necessary to keep in mind the **evolutionary** character of these achievements." (Reviewer's emphases.)

Apparently the author is here consciously challenging certain important propositions of Marxism; but for some reason he never says so explicitly. Indeed, Marx and Marxism are mentioned only two or three times in the whole book, and then only in passing; and the more than 360 works cited in the text include not one by Marx or Engels, or even by so noted a Marxist scholar as Maurice Dobb, whose **Studies in the Development of Capitalism** is highly revelant to this analysis.

WHEN ONE RECALLS Prof. Cox's tribute to Marxist theory in the preface of his earlier **Caste, Class, and Race**—". . . we have not discovered any other [ideas] that could explain the facts so consistently"—and considering the demonstrated thoroughness of his scholarship, it is clear that these omissions cannot be attributed to oversight.

Dr. Cox is eminently qualified by rich and varied academic experience to undertake the fundamental study here reviewed. As stated by Prof. Barnes in the foreword: "Whatever anyone may think of his product, no reasonable person can deny that Prof. Cox is singularly well prepared to write it."

It is this reviewer's opinion that **Foundations of Capitalism** is an able, fresh, highly perceptive and challenging analysis, which can be read with profit by the most sophisticated student of social development as well as by the novice in this field. Prof. Barnes' judgment is correct that here is "a major contribution to social and economic history in our day."

—Doxey A. Wilkerson

**FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM, by Oliver C. Cox. Philosophical Library, Inc., 15 E. 40th St., N.Y. 16. 500 pp. $7.50.*

Well, you see, one publishes in 41st St., the other in 43rd

Comment on the Pope's decree forbidding Roman Catholics to vote for candidates or parties that "supported or gave comfort to" the Communists:

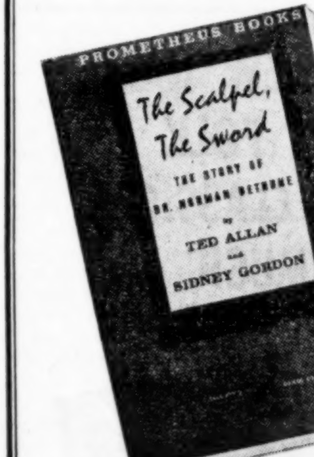
Above all, it was not taken as a move to influence the Sicilian regional elections, which are to be held in June.

—N.Y. **Times**, April 14

•

The move by Pope John was evidently directed at the present government in Sicily which has favored open collaboration between Communists and Catholics . . .

—N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, April 15



Are you unintentionally keeping this book out of your library?

The Scalpel, The Sword, the second selection of Prometheus Paperback Book Club, is a very fine book and we wish we had the space to tell you about it in more detail here. Instead we are going to quote from Madame Sun Yat Sen's Preface to the book. Her recommendation, contained in the space below, is better than ours in any case.

We think there are a good many thousand GUARDIAN readers who want this book. But more—and this is the burden of this exhortation—we believe there are two or three thousand such readers who fully expect to get it **because they think they have joined the new book club** which has now distributed this book as its second selection!

We know from the many meetings we have held that many of you who received the big mailing containing **The Power Elite** and the first issue of **The Promethean Review** fully approved of the new venture. Indeed, they "joined" in their own minds, but just failed to let us know about it. Many of you feel you now belong to the club, but just haven't made your first payment.

The trouble is, if you are one of these people, you will **not** receive **The Scalpel, The Sword**. The reason: we do not know that you have "joined" and can't know unless you tell us.

If you **do** want this book and have been expecting it as your second selection, won't you let **us** know that you approve the venture, won't you let us know that you have "joined"?

From the Preface by Madame Sun Yat Sen:

The hero in any age is one who carries out with a surpassing degree of devotion, determination, courage, and skill the main tasks with which his time challenges every man. Today these tasks are world-wide, and the contemporary hero—whether he works at home or in a foreign land—is a world hero, not only in historical prospect but now.

Norman Bethune was such a hero. He lived, worked, and fought in three countries—in Canada, which was his native land; in Spain, where forward-looking men of all nations flocked to fight in the first great people's resistance to the darkness of Nazism and Fascism; and in China, where he helped our guerrilla armies to capture and build new bases of national freedom and democracy in the territory which the military fascists of Japan fondly hoped they had conquered, and where he helped us forge the mighty people's army which finally liberated all China. In a special sense he belongs to the peoples of these three countries. In a larger sense he belongs to all who fight against oppression of nations and of peoples.

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TOYNBEE IN ENGLAND, THOMAS IN AMERICA

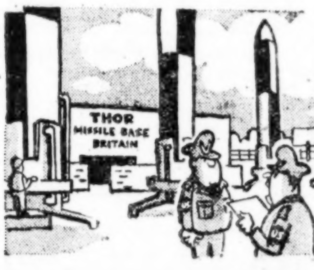
Search for sanity on two continents

PHILIP TOYNBEE, son of historian Arnold Toynbee, late in 1957 sent to 75 Englishmen in public life an extensive memorandum called "Thoughts on Nuclear Warfare and a Policy to Avoid It." Facing, in his view, an obliterating nuclear peril, he regretted that so many had cried "Wolf!" so often about lesser perils, but hoped that there might be some way now to shatter the Englishman's "calm incredulity in the face of warning prophets."

"There is a simple test for deciding whether or not we have truly contemplated the reality of nuclear warfare," he wrote. "Have we decided how we are to kill the other members of our household in the event of our being less injured than they? . . . Much needless anguish can be avoided if we are at least prepared with our methods of euthanasia."

Toynbee rejected the "deterrent" concept, the "parity" myth and the notion that one can negotiate only from strength; noted that nuclear warfare might destroy civilization for centuries or forever; and suggested that, in the face of such a prospect, even outright surrender in negotiations with the Soviet Union would be a "trivial reverse."

THEREFORE, HE ARGUED, the West should settle now on the best terms available. Failing to so persuade the Americans, Britain should unilaterally withdraw from the nuclear arms race and propose a world neutralist bloc repudiating nuclear weapons.



London Daily Worker

"You know the firing instructions—load the warhead, set the controls, check all American citizens are safely out of the country . . ."

A great majority of those addressed replied to Toynbee's memorandum. Of those replying whose comments are not included in Toynbee's report, **The Fearful Choice***, he got more or less complete agreement from Bertrand Russell, J. B. Priestley, Michael Foot, John Osborne, Victor Gollancz (his London publisher) and Rev. Donald Soper, among others. He got a "Butskell" disagreement from opposing Labor and Conservative Parliamentary leaders Hugh Gaitskell and R. A. Butler. For print, however, he selected comments which "made points which seemed to deserve particular attention" and overlapped as little as possible, and the book presents these "in approximate order of disagreement."

Only the Archbishop of Canterbury thought that nuclear holocaust might be the order of the day. "For all I know it is within the providence of God," he wrote in a statement which got a worldwide press at the time, "that the human race should destroy itself in this manner." Our Lord himself said: "Be not anxious for the things of tomorrow," the Archbishop recalled, and noted that "Christ in his Crucifixion showed us how to suffer creatively." He (Canterbury) would not "establish any policy merely on whether or not it will save the human race from a period of suffering or from extinction."

ONE ROY HARROD didn't think extinction would result, though certainly all would not survive. "There is serious talk in America of bomb-proof shelters for all. This is perhaps overdoing it." As for the sufferings of the unsheltered, "I should have thought we might have some well-distributed bomb-proof medical shelters from which frogmen would, in due course, creep forth to administer narcotics."

M. P. Nigel Nicolson saw risks, but nevertheless preferred a world "frozen by fear into stalemate," the better to pit the merits of their system against ours. Canon John Collins agreed in general but suggested that Toynbee add a sentence to his memo "showing that you recognize that it is not unreasonable to reject euthanasia and regard it as a way of escape; it would still be possible to hold that it is a reasonable alternative to slow death by radioactivity."

In agreement with his son, Arnold Toynbee wrote that "compared to continuing to incur a constant risk of the destruction of the human race, all other evils are lesser evils. Anyone who finds one of these lesser evils intolerable can always contract out by committing suicide." And novelist E. M. Forster, although agreeing too with Toynbee's "grim pamphlet," thought it "impossible that a Tory government, beset with its phantoms of Imperialism, should negotiate." It was just possible, he thought, that a Labor government "might."

Grim though it may be, **The Fearful Choice** is a fascinating exploration of the minds of England's good guys and bad on the nuclear peril. It can be most helpful, here, in that Toynbee and those agreeing with him ably refute almost every familiar argument for staying in the nuclear weapons business.

THE PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE** is Norman Thomas' new book proposing (1) a policy of total disengagement of armed forces in militarily neutralized zones in middle Europe, the Middle East and the Far East; (2) a valid disarmament plan policed by the UN; (3) strengthening the UN by a more representative General Assembly and other changes along lines proposed by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn in **World Peace Through Law.** On disengagement:

- Far East: evacuate Quemoy and Matsu; a UN seat for China and recognition by the U.S. "on condition that the Korean truce be turned into peace;" UN protection for the government of Taiwan (presumably the Chiang government) "until the islanders for the the first time can decide their own fate by plebiscite."
- Middle East: U. S.-Soviet agreement on neutralization; promotion of Arab unity with security for Israel; a regional development authority, perhaps administered by the UN, to operate oil commerce for the benefit of the Middle East countries.
- Middle Europe: The Rapacki Plan, offered by Poland's foreign minister in 1957 and revised in 1958, for atomic disarmament and phased troop withdrawal and general disarmament to create a demilitarized area in Central Europe, including German and Polish territory.

THE AUTHOR, who is America's best-known socialist, is under no illusion that bringing such plans into being would be easy, or that any pat plan for disarmament could be immediately devised. Nor does he think that, once in force, such plans would assure peace. For this, he writes there must be a moral, economic and political approach; an overriding concern for humanity and its healthy survival; and a "holy hatred of war." These constitute in his view the dynamics of peace for which his book is an argument.

Norman Thomas has never been one to hold his tongue in an argument, and this book abounds in outspoken and often outraging statements (such as: "Chiang's government of China while less ruthlessly cruel than the Communists'" etc.). He concedes that much of his own broadcasting over Radio Liberation, aimed at the Soviet world, might be called "indirect aggression." Yet a good cause never suffers in the hands of a good arguer, and Norman Thomas surely is that.

—J. T. M.

**THE FEARFUL CHOICE, by Philip Toynbee. Published in England by Victor Gollancz and in the U.S. by Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit. 112 pp. $2.50.*

***THE PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE, by Norman Thomas. W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y. 189 pp. $2.95.*

SECOND PROMETHEUS PAPERBOOK

Notes from the book world

THE SCALPEL, THE SWORD, Liberty Book Club's second Prometheus paperbook, has a history almost as eventful in book publishing as that of its central figure, Dr. Norman Bethune, who won a death struggle against tuberculosis to become a "world hero" (in the tribute of Mme. Sun Yat Sen) for his medical work in the war in Spain and later in China.

The original author, Ted Allan, sold a 20,000-word treatment to 20th Century-Fox in 1943 for a movie, then sold Little, Brown & Co. on a full book. The movie was never made, but the treatment lingered on as a psychological block to hinder Allan's production of the book. It was not until 1950 that the book was finished, with the collaboration of Sidney Gordon.

Then it was to have been published simultaneously by Little, Brown and a Canadian publisher, McClelland & Stewart. The Canadian edition came out first, and sold 10,000 copies in Canada. Little, Brown then published it here, and it became a Liberty Book Club selection in hard cover in 1954.

It was one of Liberty's best successes, and a persistent demand for its reissuance has now been met by the Prometheus Paperback edition. As for the movie rights—for which Fox paid $25,000—the Hollywood options have now run out and the book will be made into a film this year in China.

FOR $35 Prentice-Hall (Edgewood Cliffs, N.J.) will put you on the waiting list for your copy, from a second large printing, of **President's Guide,** which tells, among seven main areas of advice, "How to Get More Work from Your Employees" and "How the Company Head Can Increase His Personal Wealth." The first edition of 15,000 was oversubscribed almost before the ink was dry.

FOR $7.85 the Bureau of National Affairs Inc. (1231—24th St. N.W., Washington 7, D.C.) will tell the employees how to take a case before the National Labor Relations Board. The author of this 386-pp. "how to" book is Louis G. Silverberg, NLRB's information director.

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BOOKS FROM THE U.S.S.R. AND CHINA

A small but thriving trade in the U. S.

By Norval D. Welch

ANASTAS MIKOYAN, First Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R. and foreign trade expert, may not have had much luck last winter in his attempt to develop broader trade relations with the U.S. But one aspect of Soviet trade with the U.S. that is steadily growing is in books and periodicals, one of the planned socialist "surpluses" that is finding a ready market in nearly every corner of the world.

As nearly as can be determined, the U.S.S.R. publishes the largest number of books in the world. In 1956 it was reckoned that 54,000 titles were published the previous year, and 1,327,000 titles in the 39 previous years, for a total of some 19 billion copies in 124 languages. One reason for this is simple: the virtual elimination of illiteracy has created an audience of 200 million readers among 56 nationalities in the U.S.S.R., each with its own distinct traditions and language. This means that most titles must be printed in many different editions.

Soviet concern with understanding abroad motivates publication of many titles in foreign languages for export and regular supplies of both Russian and English editions reach here through importers. Importers from socialist countries are required to register with the U.S. government; and such imports are subjected to high duty. Thus, though retail prices here are modest enough, U.S. purchasers cannot enjoy full advantage of the original low costs resulting from mass production in the socialist countries.

DESPITE THESE HANDICAPS the major distributors do a small, by U.S. standards, but thriving business in books and periodicals from the socialist countries, especially from the U.S.S.R. The major share of this business is conducted with U.S. industry, scientific, research and educational institutions as well as various government departments in non-political materials—scientific and technical journals, grammars, dictionaries, the great Russian classics, etc.

One of the major U.S. distributors estimates that he imports about 10,000 titles a year, most in Russian, Lithuanian,

THE BEWITCHED TAILOR
Title page of Sholem Aleichem book

Latvian, Ukrainian, etc., the balance in English. About a quarter are scientific and technical books. The rest are on general subjects—history, economic topics, cultural books, grammars, dictionaries, etc. Steadiest customers are schools and colleges, professors and high school teachers. Political periodicals make up only a small fraction of the total imports.

Over the years the major importers discern a sales pattern. Biggest sellers are Chekhov, Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Dostoievski, with Gorki, Leskov, Lermontov, Nekrasov and Kuprin slightly behind. Sholokhov's "Don" books would be top-sellers if they could be obtained. Current fast-moving titles are Potopova's two-volume Russian language textbook which students find much superior (and a much superior buy at $2.75) to a more widely used American textbook for $5.95. Makarenko's **Book For Parents** is among the best sellers as is, astonishingly, Ivanov-Woznesenki's **Pathology of The Higher Nervous System.** Also a current best-seller is a new edition of short stories in Yiddish by Sholem Aleichem. A 6-volume Sholem Aleichem collection is appearing soon in Russian. **The Bewitched Tailor,** published last year in English, sold out almost immediately in the U.S. as well as in the U.S.S.R., though the first printing was 600,000 copies! Copies are again available here from a second printing.

FROM CHINA, also through registered importers, an increasing flow of books is now available in English—Chinese classics, history, economics, delightful children's books or even a subscription to **Peking Review,** airmailed direct from Peking. Also available are Chinese art books and packets of exquisite paper cutouts (shown on this page). These are paper figures trimmed with scissors and knives, and sold unmounted (for pasting directly on walls, greeting cards, etc.) or already mounted on contrasting paper stock. Packets of ten are available for as little as $2.50. Larger cutouts, some as big as 8"x10" and in all the colors of the rainbow, start at $4 for a set of six. Dozens of different art packages are also for sale—postcards of ancient Chinese art objects, contemporary watercolors in the classic style, etc.

Best selling book from China is currently a paperback **Outline History of China** which, with characteristic Chinese thoroughness, begins with Peking Man.

A Chinese paper cutout

Subscriptions to the three best-known periodicals, **Peking Review, China Pictorial** and **China Reconstructs** are picking up, and there's a new interest in the works of Mao Tse-tung.

When quality meet . . .

PERSONALLY I couldn't see how Chennault figured them. It was so obvious that the Generalissimo was nothing but a front who never said anything on his own or even thought for himself. The Madame did everything. Chiang Kai-shek just seemed to be led around where she wanted him to be led, and, right or wrong, I was positive that the Madame was a number-one con artist if I had ever seen one..

—Col. Gregory ("Pappy") Boyington, U.S.M.C. Ret., of Gen. Claire Chennault's "Flying Tigers" American Volunteer Group in China during World War II. From his best-selling autobiography, **Baa Baa Black Sheep,** G. P. Putnam's Sons. 384 pp. $5.

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'KIDNAP' VICTIM TO APPEAL

Heikkila again ordered deported

ON THE EVE of the first anniversary of his return to the U.S. after his "kidnap" deportation, William Heikkila on April 21 was ordered deported again to Finland. The decision was made by a hearing officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco after hearings that began Aug. 15.

There is no danger of a repetition of the hurry-up deportation which stirred a world protest. An injunction is in force preventing Heikkila's deportation until all means of appeal have been tried; there are several.

The government began the new deportation proceeding even as a court was hearing evidence on the earlier deportation attempt. Lloyd McMurray, Heikkila's attorney, said that the new ruling may not hold up if the court decides in favor of Heikkila on the basis of the earlier case. "This is a real hatchet job," McMurray said. "This is just what we expected and what the government wanted when it set up a hearing with one man acting as judge and prosecutor."

THE FINDINGS: The hearing officer based his decision on these findings:

- That Hekkila was a former member of the Communist Party (Heikkila has conceded that he was a member in the Depression '30's, but quit in 1939).
- That he had obtained a visa by fraud (Heikkila has denied the government's charge that he made a trip to the Soviet Union under an assumed name).
- That he is now an immigrant not in possession of a visa (this is based incredibly on the fact that Heikkila was rushed back to this country after the world protest, and therefore entered without visa).

Heikkila was brought here from Finland when he was 2½ months old. He is now 53 and has an American-born wife.

Nearer, my God, to Thee . . .

VATICAN CITY, April 19 (AP)—Pope John XXIII received 10,000 Rome housemaids in audience today. He told them that because of their work they are "nearer in many respects to Jesus."

—San Francisco Chronicle, April 20

30-HOUR WEEK SLOGAN

May Day rally in N. Y. in Union Square May 2

NEW YORK'S MAY DAY Committee, arranging its program for Union Square for Sat., May 2, cabled AFL-CIO leader Walter Reuther, chief speaker at West Berlin's May Day, to designate an official United Auto Workers representative to speak at the Union Square meeting in behalf of the 30-hour week.

Not banking on Reuther sending someone, the N.Y. Trade Union May Day Committee invited a rank-and-file stand-in from Detroit. The Committee also invited a speaker from the Ohio rank-and-file movement which defeated the state's proposed Right to Work law last November.

Other scheduled speakers in the 10 a.m.-2 p.m. program included rank-and-filers from N.Y. garment, millinery, textile, dept. store and building trades locals; H. C. Buchanan, sugar-worker treasurer of the Jamaica Federation of Trade Unions, British West Indies; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, veteran of labor struggles for a half century and now a columnist for the weekly **Worker;** and John T. McManus, GUARDIAN general manager.

A Festival of Folk Music and Dancing was arranged by Pete Seeger to precede the speaking.

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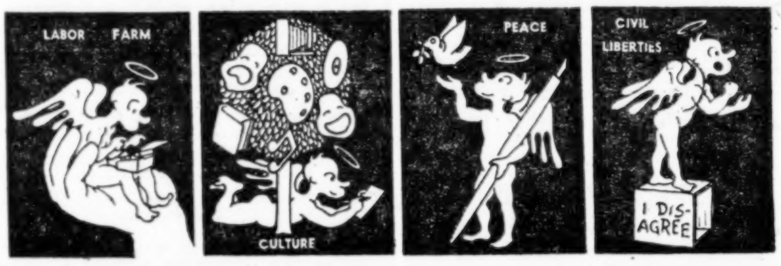

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The Tibet story

(Continued from Page 1)

dian frontier, the Dalai Lama was reported to have spoken a few words of greeting to the assembled crowd. According to the **Times'** Abel, German newsman Heinrich Harrer, reportedly fluent in Tibetan, said that the Dalai in his talk accused the Chinese of trying to hurt the Buddhist religion, thus justifying his leaving the country. But the Dalai's official interpreter said he had merely thanked the people for their "warm welcome."

India's Prime Minister Nehru on April 22, according to **Reuters**, denied persistent U.S. press reports that the Chinese had placed the Indian consul general in Tibet under house arrest.

On April 24, Nehru visited the Dalai in the Himalayan resort town of Mussoorie. Afterwards he told newsmen the Panchen Lama or the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi would be welcome at Mussoorie. He also expressed the hope that the Dalai would return to Tibet, "when, I cannot say."

In the light of these reports, the following dispatch from **Guardian's** Anna Louise Strong takes on special interest.

—**Kumar Goshal**

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING, April 13

CALM HAS RETURNED to Lhasa and other Tibetan cities. The rebellion was quelled three weeks ago. Bridges blown up and power plants damaged by the rebels have been repaired. Offices and factories again have light and power. Shops are open, trading is brisk, tractors again plow the fields outside Lhasa.

The situation was normal enough for the Panchen Lama, the acting head of the government, to appear at banquets in his honor, make his devotions in two lamaseries and journey to Peking to attend the National Assembly, of which he is a member. With him came other leaders, especially Ngapo Ngwang Jigme, last of the six Kaloons (noble men) forming the kashag (cabinet of nobles) which was the local government of Tibet, the Dalai and Panchen Lamas being mere symbols of power.

Ngapo is the man who in the name of the Dalai made the 1951 Treaty with Peking. He was the last go-between who carried letters between the Dalai and Gen. Tan, Peking's representative in Lhasa. When four of the six Kaloons went to India and killed the fifth for refusing to go, Ngapo remained as the executive secretary of the new government.

NONSENSE HEADLINES: With the Panchen and Ngapo have come details of the recent rebellion in Tibet, exposing the fantastic exaggerations in the foreign press. Among the 1,000,000 Tibetans, the rebels numbered about 20,000; the Chinese troops numbered no more than 14,000.

Headlines about a man-hunt with 50,000 Chinese soldiers are nonsense. There are many indications that Peking knew most of the time the whereabouts of the fleeing Dalai, but did not wish any injury to his revered person. The size of his retinue and the load of baggage they carried would make them conspicuous enough. Peking's announcement, as a routine news item, of his arrival on the Indian border, appears to have been a neatly unincriminating way of saying to Indian Prime Minister Nehru: "We know where he is. If you want him, we do not object."

ARMED REBELLION: Details of the Dalai's last hours in Lhasa are now known. On March 10 the kashag staged an armed rebellion, denounced the 1951 Treaty with Peking, agitated to get rid of "The Hans" (the people of China). The Dalai's Secretariat did not affix the seal to make the annulment of the treaty official. The Dalai himself was prevented from appearing as scheduled at a People's Liberation Army show by a crowd stirred up by the kashag.

Gen. Tan notified the Dalai through his reader, the Living Buddha Jaltsolin, that, in view of the circumstances, he should stay home. Then began the now famous exchange of letters in which the Dalai seemed to be struggling against many pressures. Two weeks later Jaltsolin reported that, when he had last seen him, the Dalai had asked that Gen. Tan be informed how he (the Dalai) was surrounded in the palace.

THE OPEN DOOR: Jaltsolin's story is one of many told by people who escaped the rebels. Lamas and Living Buddhas have told of lamaseries used for munition storage, rebels raping nuns and fighting over loot . . . These are the reasons why Peking is slow in judging the Dalai Lama and keeps open the door to his return by the official formula that he went to India "under duress." He has not been deposed. He remains technically head of the present government, a member of China's National Assembly and a vice president of its standing committee.

Chinese say he can still return and lead in creating a modern Tibet and go down in history as a great reformer. If he joins the imperialists and attacks the reforms, he will become less of a god to the people. With or without him, Tibet now moves to become an autonomous region—free of serfdom—of a socialist China.

WILL HE GO BACK? Most people think he will not return. One of his brothers is agent for Washington and another for Chiang Kai-shek, they say. Surroundings are too strong, others say. To this should be added the fact that he was trained from babyhood to take orders from the hierarchy of which he called himself a god.

He is under strong conflicting pressures. His followers must have told him on the way to India that Tibet is in chaos and he will be begged to return on any terms, aided by India and the U.S. But he must know now that Tibet has a stable government, that neither India nor Washington intends to restore him by force, but that he can return on the basis left by Peking.

The basis is: He can be pope or even god again, but never a god-king. The mechanism for the god-king was broken when the kashag fled. The government of Tibet now is a secular organ, not an organ of the church. He can be chief of the state but not a dictator, nor the creator of a theocracy.

Peking may give a theocracy a long time to die, but it is doubtful if anyone could create by constitution a new theocracy in the world of today.

HONORED GUESTS FROM THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

China's Premier Chou En-Lai (c.) was host April 14 in Peking at a banquet to Tibet's ruling Panchen Lama (l.) and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme (r.), vice chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. For the most up-to-date book on Tibet now available, consult Alan Winnington's Tibet *(International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York City 16. 235 pp. $4). Winnington discloses that the first wheel (other than a prayer-wheel) to penetrate the fabled Bramaputra Valley was on the jeep which carried him there in the fall of 1954 to visit the Panchen Lama in Shigatse.*

Fall-out limit

(Continued from Page 1)

cumulated. From government officials and some scientists came the notion that the world would have to "learn to live" with radiation, as it had accepted the gasoline engine and its harmful exhaust.

Some scientists talked of living with "maximum permissible concentration" levels of strontium 90. They assumed there was a "threshold dose" above which danger begins and below which hazards are negligible. These were set by studies of people working with radium (which behaves like strontium 90) and X-rays and from experiments on animals. "Maximum permissible" doses of strontium 90 were set at 80-100 strontium units (micromicrocuries per gram of calcium).

But other scientists throughout the world rejected the theory that any dose of radiation is "permissible." They pointed out that even those who would set levels admit there is no threshold for genetic damage: every increase of radiation affects the genes and will show itself in embryonic deaths, congenital defects and still-births. "Permissible" levels, they say, is a euphemism for "socially tolerable" levels—where so few will be immediately affected, the world will accept continued tests. Scientists in Sweden and England said the levels set by the U.S. were ten times too high.

NEW HANDBOOK: But on April 22 the Natl. Committee on Radiation Protection, a semi-official agency, issued a new handbook establishing "maximum permissible concentration" doses for 240 radioactive materials. It doubled the "permissible" dose for strontium 90.

Dr. Lauriston S. Taylor, chairman of the committee, said: "We don't know whether there is a threshold below which we can be certain no damage occurs. Levels are set on experience: below them we've found no detectable physical damage. It is conceivable there is somatic [physical] damage that is undetectable." He added: "Genetic damage is something else again. There is every reason to believe damage does occur and will show within 50 generations."

Taylor also said that when a number of different radioactive substances are taken into the body, the "permissible" dose for each is decreased. But, he added, this calculation was not made by his committee. He concluded: "There is a lot we do not know."

AGHAST: Some scientists were stunned by the report. Dr. Bert Pfeiffer, of the University of North Dakota, said: "I am aghast at the news they are raising the permissible level. I am convinced any amount of radiation is deleterious."

Dr. Jack Schubert of Argonne Natl. Laboratories expressed "great surprise" at the announcement. "I'm afraid," he said, "it falls into the pattern of other attempts to give a certain view of radiation." He found it "astonishing" that levels were raised on the eve of Congressional hearings (May 4-8).

In a letter to the N.Y. **Times** (April 28), Pauling said: "I write to express my protest . . . The only safe amount of strontium 90 in the bones of our children is zero. What possible justification is there for a committee of our Government to double the recommended limit, to give its sanction to a radioactive insult to the bone marrow of our children that might cause every thousandth one to die of leukemia? We need to fight for the protection of our children—to fight for a decrease . . . in the permitted and the actual amount of strontium 90 in their bones."

Dr. William L. Russell, chief geneticist at the government laboratory at Oak Ridge, Tenn., denied that any threshold could be set for radiation damage.

Of the theory of "permissible" levels, the N.Y. **Post** commented editorially: "The proposition reminds us of the saga about the girl who was 'just a little bit pregnant.'"

OTHER FINDINGS: Others were astounded because of these recent developments:

● Announcment in the **Nation** that the Atomic Energy Commission has kept secret since January a report from the Lamont Geological Observatory of Columbia University, showing that the amount of strontium 90 in children's bones doubled during 1957. The report predicted that the amount will triple by 1966 providing there are no further bomb tests. The **Nation** said the report was "already seriously out of date" because the bone analyses were made before last year's Russian and American tests.

● A report by Dr. E. A. Martell of the Air Force research center at Cambridge, Mass., indicating that fall-out from nuclear explosions in the Arctic, such as those conducted by the Russians last fall, tends to descend very rapidly over the Northern Hemisphere. AEC science member Dr. Willard F. Libby said if the Martell theory is correct, there will be "an appreciable increase in fall-out over the U.S. this year." It may even be heavier over the Soviet Union.

● A preliminary report from a New York State health officer indicating a relationship between malformed infants and high natural radiation from rocks in the area. Other studies on the effects of natural radiation—not caused by nuclear fall-out—in the earth, water and air are being conducted in Maryland, Illinois and Maine and in India, Peru and Brazil.

TIME TO ACT: While the scientists play the numbers game over where safety lies, some expect the public to play the quiet role of spectator. But the stakes are too high for passive participation. There is not much people can do about natural radiation; they can be alert to the number of X-rays taken and consult their doctors on limiting future use. But here immediate health considerations are often overriding.

But one source of radiation people can control is the debris from nuclear bomb explosions. They can see to it there are no more bomb tests.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said of radiation danger: "Not only are we walking in the dark—we don't even know where the precipice is." Now is clearly the time to turn on the lights and pull the politicians from the brink.

the SPECTATOR

Bravo, Bolshoi!

THANKS TO THE MEMBERS of Local 824, Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., the Bolshoi Ballet was able to open on schedule at the Metropolitan Opera House on April 16. It has been a general policy of the dock union bosses, some of whom make Foster Dulles look like a pal of Nikita Khrushchev, not to unload "hot stuff from behind the Iron Curtain." Thus, when the Cunard liner Ivernia pulled into its Hudson River pier on April 6, the boys made a "spontaneous" decision not to take off 144 cases of Russian hog bristle. But in the hold also were 34 tons of Bolshoi equipment. Another huddle, another spontaneous decision, and the equipment came off: the word was that the State Dept. would be mighty grateful.

For Sol Hurok, New York impresario, it marked the turning point in his 35-year effort to bring the fabled company to the United States. A few days later the equipment and the company were at the Met. The props had to be scaled down to fit the Met stage, one-third smaller in size than the Bolshoi back home (86 x 77 feet). The flooring, in terrible shape, had to be planed and scraped. The ballet company had to learn to limit its leaps and turns. Little by little everything slipped into place.

BUT OUTSIDE, EVERYTHING WAS OUT of joint. The Met seats 3,600 and 165,000 seats were available for the Bolshoi's New York run; over 1,000,000 applicants sought tickets. The Hurok offices were pandemonium; several telephone operators quit on the verge of nervous collapse; people sent in signed checks with the amount left for the Hurok office to fill in. Hundreds of applicants became "intimate friends" of Hurok in the outside office. To accommodate part of the overflow, Madison Square Garden was rented for six performances, May 12-16.

On opening night, in a setting of excited anticipation almost without parallel in the history of the gilt, plum and plush opera house, the company gave its full-length **Romeo and Juliet** for an audience which included UN Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold, Greta Garbo, Cyrus Eaton, Ambassador Menshikov, Van Cliburn and Marlene Dietrich. But the celebrities in the audience got only a passing glance. The eyes were all for Galina Ulanova, the storybook prima ballerina of the Bolshoi, 49 years old this year.

After the anthems of both nations were played (the Stars and Stripes gracing a box next to one bearing the Hammer and Sickle) the ovations began, and they continued to the end with curtain call after curtain call; the company applauded the audience with as much warmth as came up from the orchestra and down from the golden tiers.

AN ASTONISHING ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT, said John Martin of Ulanova in the N.Y. **Times** the next day. "She makes every gesture a poem in dance; her very walk is like a thermometer of emotional changes," said Walter Terry in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune.** There was no question that the lady had won the city. There were reservations about the production itself in some quarters; Victorian was a word often used by the observers who seemed put out that the Russian technique and staging was not like ours.

The cultural cold war had its devotees in **Time** ("With the possible exception of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, Russia's Bolshoi Ballet is the most extravagantly praised and least frequently viewed wonder of the world"); and in **Newsweek** ("After the Romeo and Juliet had run its tortuous course . . ."). These distempered bits served to annoy a correspondent of **Izvestia** who sensed a campaign to keep Americans away from performances for which there were no seats available.

The most hilarious dart was pitched from a sitting position by Hearst's Dorothy Kilgallen who wrote in her gossip column: "The truth is quite a letdown . . . Galina Ulanova can't dance her way into a paper bag, let alone out of one."

THIS BALCONY INHABITANT, also in a sitting position, saw neither Ulanova nor paper bags at the opening of **Swan Lake.** But he did see Maya Plisetskaya (who reportedly was going to be left behind in Moscow for fear that she might "defect to the West") and a company of lovely, graceful, superbly trained dancers who made this four-act Bolshoi showpiece an enchanted evening. And as for Mme. Plisetskaya—a beautiful and vibrant personality—I hope the directors of the Bolshoi will forgive me if I say that she can defect to us any time.

In a cab on the way home, the driver was curious. How did we like it? Four voices said: "Great." "That's what they all say," he said. "Haven't heard anyone say anything else yet." As he dropped us off he leaned out his window, like a conspirator, and said: "Tell me, how did you get your tickets?"

SO IT WENT IN OLD MANHATTAN: The interviews with the company; the reunion of Bolshoi conductor Yuri Faier with his American brother after 52 years; the closeup reporting of the company's boat trip around the island and Ulanova's gold tooth.

And the human interest stories: On opening night Lev Lavrovsky, choreographer of the company, paused to chat with the standees, some of whom had been in line 39 hours. He praised their "courage and fortitude" and said if they ever came to Moscow, just give him a ring and he'd see that they got in to the Bolshoi without waiting.

Thanks for the tip, Mr. Lavrovsky.

—James Aronson

SIX MEMBERS OF THE BOLSHOI BALLET COMPANY AS THEY ARRIVED IN NEW YORK
L. to r.: Ekaterina Maximova, Marina Kondratieva, Maya Plisetskaya, Raissa Struchkova, Liudmilla Bogomolova, Nina Timofeyeva. They are part of the 130-member group which will dance in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Montreal and Toronto after their New York performances.

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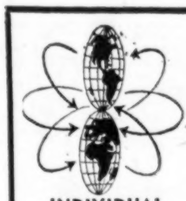

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NEWSPAPER

THE GALLERY

THE RED ARMY shall not land in the U.S.—nor even dance on its stages. That is the effect of the State Dept. decree rejecting a Russian offer to send the Red Army Chorus and Dance Ensemble as the next big attraction in our cultural exchange. The Russians pointed out that the chorus and dance group are not really soldiers; they get no military training. Their artistic achievements have been acclaimed throughout the world. The U.S., the Russians proposed, could send the Marine Band in exchange. But State Dept. officials said the feeling of Hungarian refugees against the Red Army was too great to prevent demonstrations . . . . When Harry Bridges left the hearing room after testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a woman wearing a ribbon identifying her as a delegate to the D.A.R. convention tried to take his picture. Bridges warned: "Better not, you'll be expelled by your friends." . . . . A 75-year-old public "men's room" in Dansey Place, near Picadilly Circus, London, caught the fancy of Roy (Buffalo Bill) Shetler of Virginia City, Nevada. He is negotiating with the Westminster town council to bring the green, glass-topped structure with "men" written on its door, to his private museum. Shetler says the cubicle represents "the decorative public lavatory of the Victorian era at its very best." . . . Comedian Mort Sahl defines a conservative Republican as "one who doesn't believe that anything should be tried for the first time." A liberal Republican, he says, is "one who does believe that something should be tried for the first time, but not now."

SPEAKING OF THE FUTURE on his 70th birthday on April 17 in Switzerland, Charlie Chaplin said: "My hope is that we shall abolish all atomic and hydrogen weapons before they abolish us. We must have peace and settle all our problems around the conference table." Of his personal future he said he was writing his memoirs but there have been reports he will soon produce a new film featuring his famous character, the Little Tramp . . . . The S. African government banned Bertrand Russell's latest book, **Why I Am Not A Christian** . . . . Mickey Rooney may play the featured role in a Broadway musical based on the life of Fiorello LaGuardia—Mickey Rooney?! . . . The Air Force warned its civilian employes that open-neck sport shirts are "not considered suitable for wearing while on duty in the Pentagon." . . . . His Excellency Sheikh Bader Abdullah Mulla, Secy. of State of Kuwait (a hereditary post), said in San Francisco: "Western clothes are superior to our traditional garb; you can't do rock 'n roll in these things without lifting the skirts." The 23-year-old stateman added: "When it comes to hunting falcons or chasing gazelles across the desert, the Chrysler is a great car. We have one special model that cost 25 grand."

IN THE VATICAN Pope John XXIII blessed 10,000 autos and then warned their owners to drive carefully . . . From the Philadelphia **Tribune:** "Prophet Jones was found guilty in Newark on charges of

Vancouver (B.C.) Sun

"Studley . . . I understand you are failing behind on two of your majors . . . fees and board . . ."

fortune-telling. Allegedly he told a housewife not to have an operation or she would die. The housewife, who fingered him to police, had the operation anyhow and it was a success. When the Judge asked Jones at the end of the trial to predict how much time he was going to get, the 'Prophet' reportedly declared: 'I don't know, the Lord hasn't informed me yet.' The Judge postponed sentence." . . . At Sir Winston Churchill's art show at the Royal Academy in London, friends and former associates were given a private showing. Field Marshal Lord Montgomery walked briskly through the gallery and then met Sir Alan Herbert to whom he said: "Get your hair cut." Of the paintings former Secretary for Air Lord Winton summed up to Sir Alfred Bossom, MP for Maidstone: "Jolly good fun." . . . Scotland Yard is searching for the person who passed a forged one-pound note at the House of Commons' bar.

AN AD IN THE NEW YORK TIMES says: "Your dentist's eyes cercertainly will open wider when he sees this unique DENTAL CHARM BRACELET . . . Among its 15 accurate dental miniatures are: upper and lower impression trays; dental chair with attached cuspidor; toothbrush; explorer; precision partial denture; mouth mirror; pliers; movable upper and lower dentures; etc. In 14K Gold—$137.50." . . . In Washington, D.C., Policeman William J. Johns says he twice paid $30 to a young woman he arrested as an alleged prostitute. The second time he identified himself and brought her to police headquarters; he did not say what happened the first time. . . . Glassblowers union president Lee W. Minton says: "Advertising is an important factor in the American system of free enterprise. By building up demand, it makes possible the system of mass production which has made the American standard of living the highest in the world."

—Robert E. Light